


THE LIBRARY.

GEORGE KNOTTESFORD
FORTESCUE.'—A MEMORY.

ICHARD LE FORT was cup-bearer to Duke William of Normandy, and accompanied his lord on the expedition to England. He fought at Senlac, and during that battle saved the life of the Conqueror by interposing a mighty shield between him and a Saxon weapon. Henceforth he was known as Richard of the Strong Shield, 'le Fort-Escu,' and long afterwards, when mottoes came into fashion, his descendants, in commemoration of this incident, took for their *devise* the Latin sentence, 'Forte Scutum Salus Ducum.' Richard, whose name occurs in the Roll of Battle Abbey, returned to Normandy, where descendants of him still exist; but his eldest son Adam, who had also fought at Senlac, remained in England and acquired

¹ The portrait illustrating this article is reproduced by kind permission of Messrs. Elliott & Fry, Ltd., 55 Baker Street, from whom impressions from the original negative can be obtained in permanent photography mounted for framing, price 5s. each.

2 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

lands at Wymondestone, Winestane or Wimpstone, in the parish of Modbury on the Erme, in that part of Devon known as the South Hams. This much is only family tradition. At the time of the Domesday Survey, Winestane formed part of the great estates of Robert Earl of Mortain, as tenant *in capite*, and one Rainaldus held it under him. But the manor of Mortberie, which was the nearest the Norman scribes could get to Modbury, was held under the same Earl by Ricardus, who may just possibly have been Richard le Fort. The Domesday man was at any rate probably a Norman, for a Saxon, Wado, had held it 'tempore Regis Edwardi.' The earliest Fortescue document is a deed in the Library of Eton College, of the end of the twelfth century, whereby Ricardus Fort Escu confirms to the Priory of Modbury (a cell of St. Pierre sur Dives in Normandy) the lands which his grandfather Radulfus, and his father Ricardus, had given to it.

There are other documents about the Richard who executed this charter, who was a Knight of St. John, and was certainly living in 1199, but no others about his father Richard or his grandfather Ralph, the latter of whom we may conjecture, judging by the length of generations, to have been the son of Adam, son of Richard le Fort. The lands in question, of which the boundaries are given, appear to be in the manor of Modbury, not in that of Wimpstone. There is a grant (or possibly a confirmation) of 1209 by King John giving Wymondeston to Sir John Fortescue, a brother of the Richard of 1199; so

GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE. 3

that family tradition may be right about the parish, but wrong about the actual manor held by the shadowy Richard and Adam of the Conquest.

Ninth in descent from this Sir John was another John who was living in 1461. His third son, also John, acquired the estate of Spridlestone, in Brixton, near Plympton. He had a son Richard, who succeeded him at Spridlestone, and a second son Nicholas, who was Groom Porter, whatever that may be, to King Henry VIII, and died in 1549. To him in 1542 were granted the lands of the Nunnery of Cookhill, in Worcestershire, near Alcester. Seventh in descent from the Groom Porter was the Reverend Francis Fortescue, who inherited from his father's cousin, John Knottesford, the estate of Bridgetown, with the manors of Alveston and Teddington, in Warwickshire, and assumed the additional surname of 'Knottesford,' quartering with the 'azure, a bend engrailed argent, cottised or' of the Fortescues, the 'argent, a cross engrailed gules' of the Knottesfords, which make between them an unusually pleasing coat.

On the death without male issue of John and Henry, sons of John Fortescue of Cookhill, Francis Fortescue-Knottesford became the head of the Cookhill branch, and, since the male lines of Wimpstone, Pruteston, and Spridlestone had all become extinct in the seventeenth century, the head of the whole house of Fortescue. He did not, however, inherit Cookhill, which had been sold by his first cousin, John, early in the nineteenth century. The son and heir of Francis was the Very Rev. Edward Bowles Knottesford

4 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

Fortescue (he changed the order of names), Provost of the (Scottish Episcopalian) Cathedral of St. Ninian at Perth. He married as his first wife Frances Anne, daughter of Archdeacon Spooner, by whom he had six sons, the fourth of whom was George Knottesford Fortescue, who, it will be seen, was, therefore, twenty-fifth in descent from the cup-bearer of the Conqueror.

The family history of the Fortescues of Cookhill is not especially distinctive except in one point, which they probably share with a good many other families, though in their case it is recorded more clearly than usual. Nicholas the Groom Porter no doubt followed Henry VIII in his separation from Rome, as did most other people. There is nothing to show that he agreed with his kinsman, Sir Adrian Fortescue of Salden, in his resistance to the King's schismatical policy, and he took his share of monastic property. Dying in 1549 he had no opportunity of expressing an opinion one way or another on the greater changes made by the government of Edward VI. His son William, whatever may have been his line of conduct during that short reign, was probably reconciled to Catholicism with the rest of the country under Mary, and was one of the many Worcestershire squires who did not conform to Protestantism under Elizabeth. He died in 1605. His son, Sir Nicholas, was suspected at the time of the Gunpowder Plot, but evidently was not implicated in it, for nothing came of the suspicion. He remained a Catholic, as did the descendants of his brother and eventual successor, John, for several generations.

GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE. 5

The position of Catholics during the early seventeenth century had considerable elements of danger in it; but when after a while the penal laws were not actively enforced, it ceased to be a danger and became only a nuisance, especially to a Catholic landed gentleman with a large family of sons. All the professions fit for a gentleman were barred against them by the Test Act of 1673, and so were the public schools and universities; and nothing was left for those who had no vocation for the priesthood but either to descend to commerce or to the lower walks of the medical profession—it will be remembered that Dr. Slop was a Catholic, and Sterne probably knew very well what he was doing when he represented him as one—or else to loaf about at home and sink into illiterate royster-ing sportsmen like Scott's Osbaldistones, who, it is said, were actually drawn from life. Thus it was that many not especially devout Catholics, whose honour as gentlemen would not allow them to desert their religion while there was real danger in it, fell away before the pin-prick policy of the Test Act. It happened that for some time the problem of what to do with younger sons did not press upon the Fortescues of Cookhill, for the simple reason that there were no younger sons. At last, at a time when the penal laws had fallen into disuse, and when meddling 'common in-formers' who tried to get them enforced were severely snubbed by the judges, there arose a Fortescue of Cookhill who had five sons. The circumstances were too much for him, and he conformed to the Church of England, brought his

6 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

sons up in that religion, and so was able to provide them with professions. One of them, John, the eldest, entered the navy in 1739, and was in Lord Anson's ship the 'Centurion' in the voyage round the world in 1740. Another became a clergyman, and the others went into various professions. Curiously enough, his grandson, the Rev. Francis Fortescue-Knottesford, who died in 1859, though his opinions were fully matured long before the Tractarian movement, had very strong Catholic tendencies. It is said of him that he used to recite the Breviary Offices daily—whether Sarum or Roman is not recorded. It might have been either, for he was a great collector of liturgical books at a time when few cared for such things. And his son, the Provost of St. Ninian's Cathedral, returned to the faith of his ancestors in later life.

Though the family of Fortescue can hardly be said to come into what may be called first class history, its members have done their fair share and more in the building up of England. As fine fighting men, loyal to their King by land or sea, as peers, judges, statesmen, clergymen, and officials, they have made their mark in the world, and, perhaps the proudest distinction of all, the House of Fortescue has produced one beatified martyr. There have not been many literary men or high-class scholars among them, for they have been men of affairs rather than students, and such part as they have taken in literature and scholarship has been usually incidental rather than essential. Curiously enough, too, the family has not as yet produced a single bishop.

GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE. 7

'The Grand Old Gardener and his wife' may or may not 'smile at the claims of long descent,' but many will still agree with Colonel Newcome that 'every man would like to come of an ancient and honourable race.' It was essential to the personality of George Fortescue that he did come of a very ancient and very honourable race, and though, like Jaques about another matter, he 'gave Heaven thanks and made no boast of it,' he was by no means unconscious of it. This must be my apology for the introduction of so much family history into the biography of an eminent librarian.

George Knottesford Fortescue was born at Alveston Manor, in October, 1847. It is characteristic of that remarkable man, his father, that the actual day of his birth is not recorded, though that of his baptism is. In 1847, though the Registration Act had been in force for eleven years, it had not yet become compulsory to notify births to registrars. The registrar was directed to 'inform himself' of the occurrence of a birth in his district, and the public, though obliged to give information if asked for it, were not compelled to give it unasked. Probably in this case the registrar did not inform himself. The average man would usually appreciate the benefits of registration, and voluntarily give information; but the elder Fortescue was far too Conservative to like such an innovation, which probably seemed to him to tend to exalt the mere natural birth above the spiritual re-birth of baptism. This idea was not uncommon with early members of the Church

8 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

party of which Provost Fortescue became a very distinguished member.

Alveston Manor is situated about two miles out of Stratford-on-Avon, in the heart of the Shakespeare country. Wilmcote or 'Wincot,' where Marian Hacket was 'the fat ale-wife' to whom Christopher Sly owed fourteen pence for sheer ale, is on Fortescue property; the church there was built by the Provost of St. Ninian's, and the living is now in his grandson's gift. The manor house is a fine old timbered building. At the time of George Fortescue's birth, his grandfather was still living there. His father was then incumbent of Wilmcote, but became Provost of St. Ninian's Cathedral at Perth in 1850, so that his son's early recollections were associated with Scotland rather than Warwickshire. His father was a very remarkable man, of fine presence, with a striking face, and delightfully courteous manners of somewhat old-fashioned type. When at Oxford he had come under the influence of the Tracts for the Times, which had then not long begun, and these ideas, sown upon ground already prepared by Catholic family tradition, only three generations off, bore plentiful fruit, and made him a very advanced High Churchman. Like most of the advanced churchmen of the period, he was an extreme Tory in his political views, for Radical ritualists were then unknown. The rather violent anti-Roman views of a large school of modern High Churchmen were then also quite unknown. The idea of that period was that although, as Neale put it, 'England's Church is Catholic, though England's

GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE. 9

self is not,' and individual secession was to be deprecated, the Church of Rome was to be largely admired and imitated, and corporate reunion to be hoped and striven for. But the ideal was Gallicanism rather than Ultramontanism, and the triumph of the latter in the Vatican Council changed the tone of the Anglican High Churchmen completely.

Provost Fortescue was a masterful man, very firmly convinced that his opinions were the only right ones, and his family were all expected to think and practise what he preached. I fear that all his sons except the eldest, who remained a convinced 'Anglo-Catholic' to the day of his death, were rather a disappointment to him in that respect; but there was another influence which very greatly affected, at any rate his son George, if not others of them. Provost Fortescue had married Frances Anne, daughter of Archdeacon Spooner, of a well-known Warwickshire family. By her he had seven children: (1) Edward, who was in the army, succeeded his father at Alveston, and died about twenty years ago, leaving two sons, the eldest of whom, the Rev. John Nicholas Knottesford-Fortescue, is now the head of the family, and two daughters; (2) John, who died unmarried in the early seventies of last century; (3) Lawrence, now Assistant-Comptroller of the Canadian Mounted Police; (4) George; (5) Vincent, now Canon of St. Michael's, Coventry, and Rector of Corley, Warwickshire; (6) Charles Ninian, who died as a child; and (7) Mary, who married George Augustus Macirone, of the Admiralty. A sister

10 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

of Mrs. Fortescue, Catharine Spooner, married Archibald Campbell Tait, then head-master of Rugby, but afterwards successively Dean of Carlisle, Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury. The influence of this great man, who was almost like another father to his wife's nephews, who were all exceedingly fond of him, never left George Fortescue to the end of his life. As a boy he was very unresponsive to his father's religious teaching, and, whatever his brothers may have done, neither took nor would appear to take, even for the sake of peace, the slightest interest in any of it. He had a story of how he was turned back from Confirmation in disgrace, having been caught reading a very inappropriate novel in bed on the morning when he should have received that Sacrament, which evidently interested him but little. This and other incidents of the same sort, provoked by a well-meant but apparently very injudicious treatment, caused strained relations between the boy and his father, who treated him with a good deal of sternness and severity, and seemed to look upon him as the black sheep of the family. Happily, during the last few years of his father's life they were on the most cordial of terms, and thoroughly appreciated each other. Thus it was that George's home life at his father's house was not particularly happy, and the pleasantest memories of his boyhood were of the days spent at London House or Fulham Palace with the Taites, of both of whom he was very fond and whose influence on him was strongly for good. His mother died in 1868, when he was one-and-twenty years of age. I have

GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE. 11

an indistinct memory of her coming two or three times to see her sons at school, a fair-haired lady with a gentle face, and a very devout manner in church. I think she was an invalid for some time before her death, and her health prevented her from living at Perth.

I knew his father very well during his later years. He died in 1877. He had married as his second wife in 1870 Gertrude, daughter of the Rev. Saunderson Robins, vicar of St. Peter's in Thanet, an old acquaintance of my own parents. After their marriage they both became Catholics and went to live close to the Church of the Sacred Heart in Eden Grove, Holloway, in a picturesque old house with a large garden, where I often visited them. He had, of course, to behave as a layman, but he always dressed in black, and I think he had considerable doubts about the invalidity of his Anglican Orders—he did not live to see the decision of Leo XIII on the subject.¹ He was a most agreeable and interesting man, full of humour

¹ He used to have his letters addressed 'Mr. Fortescue,' and refused to assume 'Esq.,' as many clerical converts have done. I remember that when his son George was married, the bridegroom and his 'best man,' myself, consulted about the filling up of the register, and, wishing to do what he would like, though we were both Anglicans, we decided that it would be best to describe him as 'gentleman.' To this, when he saw it, he objected strongly, saying that 'Clerk in Holy Orders' was his proper designation—by which, I think, he meant more than that it was still his legal title. He used to read the Epistle at Mass, which, of course, can be done by a layman, and was part of the duty of a parish clerk in Pre-Reformation and for a time in Post-Reformation England, though it is very unusual now, so much so that I never met with any other instance.

12 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

and of varied information, especially on ecclesiastical subjects, and an excellent talker. As an Anglican he had been a fine preacher, and was a considerable leader of the extreme Catholic school, and especially of those who desired re-union. He was the first President (I am not sure of the exact title) of the Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom, which was founded, I think, in about 1859, and of which his son-in-law, George Macirone, was later for many years secretary. By his second marriage he had three children, one of whom, the Rev. Adrian Knottesford Fortescue, D.D., is a distinguished Catholic writer, chiefly on subjects connected with the Eastern Churches.

Provost Fortescue's Anglican position was the cause that he sent two of his sons, George and Vincent, to St. Mary's College, Harlow, which had been started in the fifties as a school for sons of the extremer members of the Catholic party in the Church of England. It was encouraged by the leaders of that section, and for a while appeared to flourish, so that in 1861 a new building on a fairly large scale was needed, and the foundation-stone was laid, amid great pomp and hopefulness, by the Hon. Colin Lindsay, the first President of the English Church Union, who backed his opinion by sending one of his own sons there. Eucharistic vestments were worn, incense was used, fast-days were kept, confession was practised, and I have never been able to find any essential difference between the theology taught there and that which has the sanction of the Holy See, except, of course, as regards the position of the

GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE. 13

Church of England. And there was plenty of church-going and theology. Matins and Evensong were sung daily. There were Celebrations of the Holy Communion—we used to call it 'Mass'—on Sundays and Thursdays, at which the whole school were present. Early Confirmation and frequent Communion were encouraged. We had a whole holiday on all red-letter Saints' Days. On the other hand, during Holy Week ordinary work was suspended, and everything was theology and services, and on Good Friday absolute silence was observed for the whole day, and it was made a 'black fast.' Were we overdosed with religion? I do not know. Boys are generally rather bored by it, and probably few of us enjoyed fast-days and Holy Week, though we liked Saints' Days; but judging from those whom I have met in later life—and they are a large proportion of the whole—I think that the religion was presented in a manner which has caused very few, however they may have drifted away from the form of it, to look back upon it with repugnance or dislike; and even those who are not religious now look back with a certain kindly feeling to the beautiful ideals, never, alas, to be realised, of the extremists of that day, a feeling which the sad débacle of our old school could not do away with. The founder, the Rev. Charles Jonathan Goulden, a man of Jewish extraction, was a very mixed character; the discipline was fitful and irregular, the scholarship inaccurate, and everything more or less ramshackle in its ways. Of the two hundred boys or so who passed through the school during the twelve years

14 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

of its effective existence, only three that I know of, George Fortescue, Father William Black, and W. H. Mallock, have ever even attained to the honours of 'Who's Who?' Looking back, it does not seem surprising that the school ceased to exist in 1867.

I first met with George Fortescue in December, 1860. His brother Vincent came to Harlow in that year, and shortly before the Christmas holidays George came there as a visitor, so as to accompany his younger brother to Perth when the holidays began. He was then thirteen (nearly a year older than I was), short for his age, with an immense mop of very thick, crisp, and tightly curled hair, parted in the middle and spreading out on either side. It suggested the obvious nickname of 'Poodle.' His hair was almost woolly, and though it was very light in colour, he used to say, long after those days, that he would never have ventured to go to the West Indies, as his brother John had done, for there he would inevitably have been suspected of 'colour.' Yet there was not an atom of any but European blood in him. He was very merry, though not noisy, and exceedingly active, high-spirited, and impulsive. Under the circumstances of his visit, which was really to his brother, he became for the time a sort of honorary member of the school, and was at once a general favourite. He made two or three more visits during 1861, and at the beginning of 1862 came as a pupil. He was very good at games, and I remember that at his first visit he displayed great skill at a winter amusement, known in those days, and perhaps still,

GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE. 15

as 'snob cricket.' This was a form of single wicket, with rather go-as-you-please rules to it, played in a gravelled playground with a stick, generally a worn-out cricket stump, and an india-rubber ball, usually a solid one, at a wicket chalked on a brick-built gate-post. And to the reason for his expertness hangs a tale. He and some of his brothers and his cousin Craufurd Tait used to play it on wet days in the library at Fulham Palace, using as a wicket some large folio set up on end. On one occasion Bishop Tait came in and found Fuller's 'Worthies' being used in this way, and mildly suggested that some less venerable work might be substituted, so that thenceforth, under episcopal sanction, 'Morhoffii Polyhistor' became their wicket. Long years after, in about 1906 or 1907, George Fortescue went to lunch at Fulham Palace with the present Bishop of London, this being the first time he had been to the house since Tait left it in 1868. Of course he was shown the library, and he somewhat surprised the Bishop by asking for 'Morhoffii Polyhistor,' of all improbable books. He found it for himself in its old place, still bearing the marks of the balls, but not very seriously the worse for them.

I think my friendship with Fortescue dates from his first visit to Harlow. We took to each other from the first, and we remained friends without a break for fifty-two years, though there was a short gap from 1865 to 1869, when we never saw each other. As a boy and as a man he was of a very warm-hearted and affectionate nature, unselfish to an unusual degree, never seeking his own advantage

16 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

in anything, even when he might have done so without blame. At school, as in the world, he never made an enemy in all his life, even of those whom personally he disliked—for he had very strong dislikes as well as likes—and he made many friends. I do not think that his character ever really changed, but at school this unselfishness manifested itself in strange ways. I never knew him do anything to the detriment of anyone else; but for the effect of his actions on himself he appeared to be perfectly reckless. He could not be called a studious boy in any sense, though he read what pleased him, and had for his age a good taste in literature, both of prose and verse, and he thought out and talked out, in schoolboy fashion, of course, many things which did not appeal to the ordinary 'human boy.' Indeed, I should say that he was rather romantic in his ideas, and held decided views on many subjects on which school-boys do not often make up their minds. And he expressed them freely, as he did throughout his life. Though he had many harmless affectations, he was saved from any taint of priggishness by a certain diffident humility and consciousness of his own limitations, which, I think, was a part of his unselfishness. Had he chosen he might have excelled in school-work as well as in games; but, much to his regret in after life, even the simple, and not wholly painless, arguments of the period could not induce him to prepare a lesson. He would come up to class with some uncertainty as to where it began. As for rules, they were made to be broken, whenever they interfered with his

GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE. 17

inclinations, and often when they did not, out of sheer defiance. I remember once that another boy, no particular friend of his, dared him to join him in running away. The other boy may have had reasons for attempting this scholastic suicide. He was not popular, and when school-boys are unpopular their companions are apt to let them know it. But Fortescue had no reasons. He was extremely popular, and the school, with all its educational faults, was anything but a Dotheboys Hall, so that he was quite happy there. Also he was fully aware of the consequences. But he was 'dared' to do it, and as a Fortescue and a gentleman what could he do but go? They went up to London, and after some harmless adventures, which appeared to them rather dissipated, came to the end of their money and turned up, not at all repentant, but somewhat the worse for wear—the other boy at his mother's house, and Fortescue at the Bishop of London's. The other boy did not return to school, and it was better so. Fortescue was brought back by George Macirone, who was afterwards his brother-in-law.

While this incident did not end Fortescue's school career, the end came in rather a stormy manner. At Harlow from time immemorial there had been held a large and important fair on the Feast-day, Old Style, of St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, in whose honour and that of Our Lady St. Mary the parish church is dedicated. As St. Hugh's Day New Style is 17th November, this was naturally on 29th November; but as in 1863 that was a Sunday, the fair was held on the Saturday, and

IV.

C

18 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

inaugurated, as usual, by a kind of 'First Vespers' on the Friday. It was a rowdy business, and we were not allowed to go to it after dark. Having, nevertheless, attended this ceremonial the night before, and not liked it sufficiently to repeat the visit, on the evening of that Saturday it occurred to George Fortescue and two others that tobacco was attracting them, and that the unfinished new wing of the college was a sufficiently secluded place in which to smoke it, being out of bounds. Before lighting up had begun, however, voices of certain 'prefects' were heard, and one—he died three or four years ago, a retired colonel—was heard to conjecture that they had gone there to smoke. The three lay low in a distant quarter, not very easy of access with no stairs, and the voices died away. After a sufficient smoke they returned to the school, and found to their horror that a special 'call-over' had been instituted, in view of the fair, that they had been reported missing, had been searched for, and had not been found anywhere on the premises, even in the forbidden new building. There was no other conclusion than that, like Robin Hood and Little John in the Helston Furry Song, 'they all had gone to the Fair O!' They were called up and questioned. They told the plain and unvarnished truth, omitting, of course, the wholly irrelevant and superfluous nicotian detail, and, sad to relate, they were not believed. Nothing, however, could turn them from their story—even when they were examined separately—and in the end, though the impositions were rather disproportionate to the very slight

GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE. 19

offence of going into the new building, they were supposed to be for that only. In Fortescue's case, however, the affair was complicated with an adventure with a certain tramp, who had represented himself as coming from the neighbourhood of Stratford-on-Avon, and professed to know all about the Fortescue family. To him George had given some food and an old coat, and probably any loose cash that he had about him. When the Headmaster represented to him that the food was not his to give away—an aspect of the case which had, very naturally, not occurred to the boy's mind—he put his hand into his pocket, pulled out a handful of coppers, and said in a rather contemptuous tone, which through all his life he could assume when he chose, 'I am quite willing to pay for it.' This naturally did not mend matters, and the result of the term's misdemeanours was an exceedingly unsatisfactory report, which caused his father to remove him from the school.

In the early sixties, as previously, the merchant shipping service was largely recruited from boys whose parents did not know what else to do with them. George Fortescue had never shown the slightest inclination for the sea, but in accordance with this tradition he was apprenticed on board a certain ship commanded by a connection by marriage of his family. He was to live in the cabin, and, I suppose, was to be taught the profession. His father was not at all likely to know anything about distinctions of ships, and was evidently badly informed about this one. It turned out to be a collier, and was bound for

20 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

Singapore, round the Cape, a voyage which in those days took a very long time. As soon as they got into blue water there was no more cabin life or interesting lessons in navigation. The ship was rather short-handed, and George was sent before the mast as a ship's boy, where he had a very hard time. To have come out of that ordeal unscathed in mind or body, in manners, morals or health, was a marvellous testimony to his real character. It was no wonder that on arriving at Singapore he ran away from the ship, and having somehow come in contact with the United States Consul, was befriended by him, and sent home under better conditions. After a voyage which was not an unpleasant memory, he arrived in England, and eventually turned up at his father's house in Perth, pretty well in rags. This part of his life is not very clearly known to me. He used to talk about it in old days, but I remember more of isolated incidents than of the sequence of events. He was in England for some time from March, 1865, and, according to my diary, he stayed at his old school at Harlow from 20th June to 3rd July. I remember that he took part in the theatricals which were our custom on Saints'-day evenings, and there were two (St. John Baptist's and St. Peter's) during his visit. He was a remarkably good actor, absolutely devoid of 'stage fright,' and he kept up his acting well into middle life, and his interest in the theatre down to the end.

From 3rd July, 1865, until the end of 1869, I never saw or heard from him, though I heard of him once. On 24th August, 1866, when my

GEORGE RNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE. 21

father was consecrated Bishop of Dunedin in Canterbury Cathedral, Tait, then Bishop of London, was one of the assistants. Someone, I think it was Dean Alford, presented me to him afterwards at the Deanery, and I asked after his nephew. He told me that he was still at sea; but unluckily someone of more importance interrupted before I got any details. I have not been able to find out exactly when he got into the Royal Navy, and if any Navy men read this they must pardon my vague knowledge of the details of the Service in the sixties; but as far as I can remember there was a way into what I believe was called the 'master's line' from the merchant service at a later age than was possible for entrance into the superior branch of the Service. Those who entered the Navy in this way would become eventually 'navigating officers,' master's mates and masters, as they used to be called, without much prospect of rising any higher. George Fortescue was too old for the 'Britannia,' but apparently young enough for the 'master's line.' But I am unable to say when he entered the Service. While in that or in the merchant service he made a good many voyages, visited Indian, Chinese, and South American ports, sailed through the Straits of Magellan—this last under very unpleasant conditions of weather—and was 'in perils by water' not a few. He saw the outside edge of many countries, and had a good many experiences which to the 'gentlemen of England who live at home at ease' would seem strange and wild, but are all in the day's work to a sailor. And all this happened before he was

22 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

one-and-twenty. At about that age his career in the Navy came to an abrupt end. I am not sure whether it was in 'manning the yards' or in some operation connected with the sails, but he had gone as leader of a party of men on to the cross-jack (pronounced 'crojjack') yard, which is (or was, as he would have said, 'when a ship was a ship, and not a box of tools') the lowest yard of the after-mast or mizzen. It seems that in these operations you stand on a rope which is under the yard. He was on it first, and the sudden rush of men behind him caused the rope to sway out from its place, and being a short man he lost his hold of the yard and fell. He was badly knocked about, especially on his head, and had to leave the Service in consequence; but no permanent injury resulted from it. This is my memory of the tale as it was told to me. My nautical details are probably inaccurate, as they are only a landsman's impressions.

The next time that I saw him was in, I think, November, 1869. I was at St. Alban's Church, Holborn, at one of the crowded services held in connection with a mission which was going on all over London. The service, an evening one, was nearly over, and I was standing near the west end of the church, when George Fortescue walked in, with the half-apologetic expression on his face with which he used to come into school on the frequent occasions when he was late. We spoke to each other for a moment, but he had come there to meet his sister, and had to find her, and I lost him in the crowd. On Good Friday, 1870, I saw him again, at All Saints' Church, Margaret

Street, and this time we went out together and had plenty of opportunity for talk. We just picked up the threads that had been dropped in 1865. But I noticed that his old light-hearted recklessness was gone, and that he had more than four years' extra seriousness added on to him. He told me how he had left the sea and was going up shortly for his examination for a Senior Assistantship in the British Museum, for which his uncle, Archbishop Tait, had given him a nomination, and so interested me that, being dissatisfied with my work and prospects as a clerk in the Probate Court, I used my father's influence to get a nomination for myself; and in less than three months from that Good Friday, having duly passed a qualifying examination, I was at work in the Department of Manuscripts. I found Fortescue already on the staff of the Printed Books, though the first time he went up for examination he had failed in spelling! The Archbishop had been equal to the occasion, and had given him another nomination at once. He went up again, got through, and entered the service a few days before I did. That one of the most efficient men that the British Museum has ever had should only have got in through what ill-natured people might describe as persistent nepotism, may surely be reckoned to the credit of the old system. But Archbishop Tait was a judge of men—even of his relations—and probably knew of what stuff his nephew was made.

No sooner was George Fortescue appointed than he threw himself into his work with the greatest

24 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

energy and with something like the enthusiasm which at school he would display for everything except his lessons. He was set to the usual cataloguing of modern books to begin with, and he soon broke through all traditions in the quantity of work which he turned out. Nor was quality lacking, for he had a clear head and an excellent memory. He never wrote a good hand, but that was hereditary, for he used to bring his father's letters round to the MS. Department to be deciphered—no easy job. Towards the end of his life his writing became almost as illegible as his father's, but this was due to failing sight and the evil effect of signing thousands of receipts for books under the Copyright Act. In early days, by means of considerable trouble, he kept a hand for cataloguing which was quite good enough for the transcribers. From the beginning he was more interested in work of practical utility and general library management than in accurate scholarship, for, like his ancestors, he was essentially a man of affairs rather than a student, and had little patience with anything that could be described as pedantry, especially if it wasted time.

During the interval between my meeting him on Good Friday, 1870, and our joining the Museum staff—he in June, and I early in July—I saw him often. We took up our school friendship where it had left off, and during that time he confided to me that which I at once saw to be the reason for his changed outlook on life. He was engaged to be married. It was a deep and sincere attachment on both sides, and thus it was that his

GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE. 25

carelessness of the future, which so long as the future mattered only to himself had been a very marked characteristic, had been replaced by almost excessive care when it concerned someone else also. It was evidently that point in his life's history at which '*si trova una rubrica, la quale dice: Incipit vita nova,*' and it accounted fully for his hard work in the Museum and his hard life out of it.

At first he lived with some other men in a sort of boarding-house in Euston Grove, a short street leading from the Square to the station, a very noisy thoroughfare. Later he moved to the north-west corner house of Euston Square, where he occupied a tiny back room on the ground floor, denying himself every luxury—and he was a man who could appreciate luxuries—and saving every penny he could. It was not a squalid life, but a horridly uncomfortable one, though he did not seem to mind it. But he never did mind what trouble he took, or what discomfort he went through, if the object was worth it. He went very little into society in those days, and avoided all amusements which cost money, though he was then, as throughout all his life, exceedingly fond of the theatre. His one extravagance, if it may be called so, was his clothes, for he was always well dressed; but constant care came in useful in that respect also. All this was probably a hard struggle to a man who was naturally very free-handed. But he attained to great proficiency in the art of going without, and yet it never made him stingy, except to himself.

26 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

During the five years between his joining the Museum and his marriage we saw a great deal of each other, almost every day indeed. Commonly we used to meet in the hall of the Museum at four o'clock, and go for a walk of two or three hours, for he was always convinced of the necessity of exercise, and walking was the least expensive form of it. In this way we explored a very large part of London, taking it rather systematically. A good deal of Old London which has since disappeared existed then, and our walks were often very interesting. So to us was our talk which accompanied them. We were neither of us silent men, but we were both of us also good listeners, without which quality conversation may tend to be too one-sided. I have no doubt we talked great nonsense at times, as boys in the early twenties of life will; but I do not think it was nonsense which one is the worse for having thought and talked at that period of life. Fortescue was then a strongly patriotic British Empire Conservative, at a time when people had hardly yet begun to 'think imperially.' His idea of patriotism was personal service, and nothing which tended that way was too insignificant for consideration. I remember once his refusing to invest a comparatively small sum, which he happened to have, in Russian securities, then rather highly thought of, because it would be helping, however infinitesimally, the credit of Russia, at that time hostile to England. He was a strong Churchman, of the school of Tait, but a good deal because he considered the Church of England a part of the British

Constitution ; and he disliked Catholicism, whether Anglican or Roman, the former as to him fantastic and unreal, the latter as anti-national, and both from a certain impatience of what seemed to him niggling and unnecessary details of dogma and ceremonial. In this he developed somewhat differently in later years, and in the end became something of a High Churchman of the moderate sort. His objections were never of the narrow and ignorant Protestant type, for he had come too much into contact with good people of Catholic ideas in both Churches to believe in alectryotauretic tales of Popery. His standard of ethics was always very high—perhaps, if such a thing is possible, fantastically so ; but it seemed to be his constant endeavour, in the words of Samuel Johnson which he was fond of quoting, ‘to clear his mind of cant,’ and to think with common sense. He was very little interested in any personal application of religion, and hated what schoolboys called ‘pi-jaw,’ but he was never an agnostic or unbeliever, and took the principal truths of Christianity for granted without question.

On the two fixed holidays of the Museum, Ash Wednesday and Good Friday (for counting legally as a place of amusement (!), it was open on most public holidays, but closed on those two Fast Days), and often on Sundays, we used to go for longer expeditions, exploring the country round London in every direction, and sometimes as a special treat, for it cost money, going up the river in a boat. We could both row fairly well, and enjoyed a not too strenuous expedition of that sort, and in the

28 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

early seventies the river was seldom overcrowded. Our walking expeditions were often of considerable length, and we got to know the highways and byways of the surrounding country, especially to the north of London, very well.

One great enjoyment that was open to Fortescue in those days was staying with the Taits, who were always very kind to him, at Addington, then the country house of the Archbishops of Canterbury. There he met all sorts of people of distinction in Church and State, and was taken for the time out of his cramped and commonplace surroundings. It was at one of these visits that there came to him the chance of a lifetime—and he rejected it. He was staying at Addington for what would now be called 'a week-end,' and staying there also was the late Lord Salisbury. Somehow—I think because they were the only smokers in the house—Fortescue and he were thrown together a good deal. Lord Salisbury was then in Opposition, for it was before the election of 1874, and though he had already been Secretary for India, he was comparatively young, and was not quite the distinguished statesman that he became later. They seem to have talked very freely, and to have got on uncommonly well. A few days later Lord Salisbury wrote to the Archbishop and asked whether his nephew could be induced to come to him as his private secretary, offering quite good terms. It was a great chance of an eventual political or high official career, for either of which Fortescue was well fitted, and he knew that it was; but it must have meant the indefinite postponement of his

GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE. 29

marriage, perhaps for many years, and he refused the offer. The Archbishop was very irate, but I think that Fortescue himself never regretted his decision.

In those years before his marriage he did a great deal of reading. He was quite conscious of the deficiency which resulted from his educationally wasted boyhood and youth, and made up for it very judiciously. As he seldom forgot anything, for his memory was marvellous, he retained the very fair knowledge of Latin and French which he had acquired by sheer cramming for his examination, and easily added to it. He acquired a good working knowledge of German and Italian, and he had great power of using effectively even a small knowledge of a subject in his Museum work. But as a study he was more interested in modern history than anything else. It was perhaps not so common in those days as it is now to specialise on a comparatively short period and know it thoroughly. But this was what he did rather deliberately, and the period which he chose was the French Revolution, with its sequel the reign of Napoleon. He looked upon the French Revolution as the key to the understanding of all modern politics, probably rightly, and rejoiced greatly that his being given part of the Croker collection of French Revolution tracts to catalogue at the Museum had attracted him to it. He read greedily every book on the subject that he could get hold of, and studied it very systematically. In the end he acquired an intimate knowledge of the Revolution and all its ways and works which has seldom been equalled. But he made curiously

30 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

little use of this knowledge,¹ though possibly he would have made more had he lived to enjoy the leisure of retirement. He read—and he had plenty of time for it in the evenings—for amusement as well as instruction, but was rather too hard to please to be a great novel reader. Fairly early he had steeped his mind in Thackeray, knew his novels almost by heart, and could have passed a very searching examination in them. Someone, I forget who, once wrote on ‘Books that have helped me,’ or ‘influenced me.’ I think that the novels of Thackeray influenced George Fortescue not a little, and that the heroes of them—Esmond, the Warrington brothers, Pendennis, Clive Newcome, and the rest, with Colonel Newcome as an unattainable counsel of perfection—were his ideals. He might have had worse. It is to be remembered that many of the great early and mid-Victorians were then still living and writing, and their books, and those of many of the lesser lights, were being everywhere read and discussed. Fortescue would generally be found to have read any book that was being talked about, but he usually professed not to be an habitual novel-reader. There were also poets on the earth in those days, and most of us read their poetry as it came out; but I do not remember that Fortescue was specially interested in that form of

¹ The only records of it are abstracts of two papers which he read before the Bibliographical Society and an Introduction to an American edition of the ‘Memoirs of Bertrand de Molleville.’ The latter became a sore subject. He allowed the proofs to be read for him in America, and the misprints which survived the process were cruelly numerous and disfiguring.

GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE. 31

literature, except that he had a strong dislike for the Swinburne and the Pre-Raphaelite schools. On the whole, in literature he seemed to be an excellent critic, with certain limitations which were largely the result of prejudices. He could not abide anything that savoured of the individualist doctrinaire Liberalism of the seventies, whether in politics, religion, or ethics, and any such taint would set him against a book, however good it might be from a literary point of view.

He could play as well and as strenuously as he could work, whether at outdoor or indoor games. When lawn tennis was invented he took to it eagerly, and got to play very well, for he was active in body. He delighted in all manner of card games, and at one time took up chess with a good deal of earnestness. What did not appeal to him in those days was what are commonly called 'hobbies,' when they were not play and yet had no bearings on the serious work of the world. My Celtic studies he regarded as rather futile, if not pernicious, for he disliked the Celts generally, and especially the Irish, as only a man with Irish blood in his veins can dislike them. That Irish strain, from his maternal grandmother, who was one of the Inchiquin O'Briens, was the one part of his pedigree of which he was ashamed; and an allusion to his ancestor Brian Boroimhe, the hero of Clontarf, whom he refused to acknowledge as anything but a legendary character, was a sure way of getting a rise out of him. Why should I interest myself in the languages, which were barbarous, of hordes of savages, and in their literature, which was naught?

32 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

As for Ralston's folk-lore, he always wondered how a bearded man—and Ralston was a very bearded man—could waste his time over fairy-tales. There was a good deal of the complete 'Philistine' about Fortescue in those days. But, like most people, he became more tolerant later in life, and when the study and collection of European butterflies became the absorbing interest of his playtime, so that the habitat of some rare variety greatly influenced his choice of a holiday resort, he began to see that there was something in 'hobbies' after all.

In April, 1875, the reward of his long years of willing self-denial and hard life came to him in his marriage to Ida, daughter of the Rev. W. Blatch, incumbent of St. John's Episcopal Church at Perth. It was a singularly happy marriage, and the sweet and gentle lady who had been the good influence of his life for those five years continued to be so for twenty-one years of happy married life. They were very poor at first, for they had barely three hundred pounds a year between them, but they did not seem to mind, and were quite light-hearted about it. They lived at first in Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, where they took part of a house. When I married in 1877 and went to live at Hampstead, we were near neighbours, and saw a good deal of each other at home, as well as in the Museum. Later, I think in about 1883, Mrs. Fortescue having begun to develop the bronchial or lung trouble which eventually ended her life, it was found necessary to go away from that clay soil, and they took a small house on the gravel in Grafton Square, Clapham, where she remained for

the rest of her life, and he until he went to live in the British Museum as Keeper in 1899. This house had one great attraction for him in that there was an excellent tennis court in the square garden, though it was rather a dreadful district to live in. Of even this he characteristically made the best, for he attached himself to the Parish Church, where he became a sidesman, taught in the Sunday-school, was on the Committee of the Public Library, and generally interested himself in parish matters, bringing to bear upon these things the same strenuous energy that characterised his Museum work and his play.

It was not long after his marriage that there were some reorganisations of pay at the British Museum, and he obtained his first promotion. Much about the same time there were changes in the personnel of the staff. Rye, the Keeper of the Printed Books, retired, and his place was taken by Bullen, who had been Superintendent of the Reading Room. At the same time Garnett, who had hitherto been occupied in what was known as 'placing books,' of which presently, was made Superintendent of the Reading Room. For a short time Godfrey Evans, who had been Garnett's 'understudy' in book-placing, took over his work, but he died a year or two later, and Fortescue, who had been his deputy, succeeded him. The work called by the not very exalted name of 'placing books' is a good deal less simple and a good deal more important than its title implies. Also—and I can speak from twenty-five years' experience of it—it has an interest which belongs

34 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

to no other work in the department, in that he who performs it sees, even if only for a moment, every book, English or foreign, except those in Oriental languages, which comes into the British Museum. It was during this service that Fortescue acquired a great deal of the knowledge and the aptitude for clear-headed classifying which enabled him to carry out so successfully his later and still more important work. The books in the British Museum are arranged on the shelves by subjects, under a broad system of classification, quite detailed enough for all practical purposes. Indeed, I think the system has hit off a happy mean between under-elaboration and the rather pedantic over-elaboration of some librarians of the American school.

Besides the actual classification of the books, a great deal of the general management of the library, as far as it appertained to space and arrangement, was in the hands of the 'Placer.'

Fortescue had a very free hand with the placing, for no one except Garnett, who was too busy with the Reading Room to interfere, knew enough about the subject to be able to criticise. He introduced many reforms of method, notably the restoration of the system of 'third marks' (adding the number of a book on the shelf to its press-mark and shelf-mark), which Rye had caused to be abandoned, applying it not only to new books, but to those already on the shelves; he also devised a very excellent method of arranging and binding up pamphlets, which added a great deal to his own work. But he did not remain 'Placer' very long.

After about nine years of the Reading Room, Garnett, who had for some time been dividing his attention between his duties as Superintendent and the new work of revising and printing the general catalogue, proposed late in 1884 to devote himself entirely to the latter and to give up the Reading Room. Bond, who was then Principal Librarian, acting on the advice of the retiring Superintendent, and largely, I think, also on that of Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Douglas, in whom he had great confidence, offered the post of Superintendent of the Reading Room to Fortescue. He took it, of course, though it did not make any immediate difference to his pay, and was harassing and very hard work, with little to show for it by the end of the day. Garnett, it need hardly be said, was not at all an easy man to follow. He had raised the Reading Room service to great efficiency, and his encyclopædic knowledge, his marvellous memory, his immense power of work, and his curious tact and judgment in dealing with people—few men knew better than Garnett when to give special help to readers and when to snub them, and few could do either more effectively—made him a predecessor whose standard was difficult to keep up. Fortescue, however, could never be content with leaving things no worse than he found them; he must go one better, if not more. And he did so in this case.

Almost immediately he took over the Reading Room he saw that the great want of the Library was a subject catalogue, and it is with the beginnings of a great reform in this respect that his

36 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

memory will always be associated. The printed accessions to the general catalogue, which had been issued since 1880, made the task of constructing a subject catalogue for the accessions for 1880 to 1885 possible, and it was naturally these recent books which were most in request. He began his index by way of making his own work more effective, doing it in his own time, chiefly at home, but eventually suggested to Bond that it should be printed officially. Now, there are two forms of subject catalogue—a subject index, and a class catalogue. Fortescue, after much thought, decided that whereas anyone who knows the alphabet can use a subject index, a class catalogue, owing to the numerous differences of opinion on the classification of all knowledge, is of much less service, unless you have the man who made it standing by to show you how to work it. Otherwise, 'it is often more business to find out what should be read than to read it when it is found out.' Bond, who had been Keeper of the Manuscripts, had signalised his Keepership by organising the construction of a really very useful Class Catalogue of all the Manuscripts, and was prejudiced in favour of this form. Thus it was that, though he took every interest in Fortescue's work, his well-meant interference, always in favour of large subject headings, gave a good deal of trouble in the making of the first quinquennial volume, which was certainly not so good as its successors, though it was a splendidly useful book all the same. In the later volumes Fortescue had a completely free hand, and the results of that, and of his own improved

knowledge of how to do it, were very apparent. After three volumes had appeared, containing the accessions of five years in each, and a new volume was due, the preceding volumes were thrown into one alphabet with the accessions for the last five years, and a twenty-years catalogue in three volumes was published. Since then two quinquennial volumes have appeared, and we have now, as the greatest memorial of Fortescue's work, subject indexes of the great bulk of the literature of thirty years. Certain branches, such as novels, sermons (unless on some very definite subject), biographies (which are provided for by biographical cross-references in the general catalogue), poetry, plays, and a few others, are regarded as outside its scope; and so are such works as Bibles, liturgies, etc., for which the general catalogue provides headings already. The idea is that of a subject-supplement to the general catalogue, and no useful purpose would have been served by repeating information which the general catalogue already provided. Though in the three-volume index and the two successive volumes Fortescue, being then Keeper, delegated a certain amount of the work to others, he kept for himself so complete a supervision that his own mind is perceptible through them all.

He found the work of the Reading Room very anxious and worrying. He got on extremely well with the readers, and made many real friends among them; but the mere management of so large a number of people in one room must always be a hard task, and among the thousands who hold reading tickets there must always be a few who

38 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

are cantankerous, self-assertive, and unreasonable, as well as a few—a very few—of a blacker sort of sheep. Very possibly he concerned himself needlessly, for in actual fact during his twelve years' tenure of office things went extremely smoothly, and in the very few cases of trouble he was so evidently right that he rather strengthened his position by them than otherwise. Over and over again, however, when we went out to lunch together, I found him worn, wearied, and harassed, and inclined to use nautical words about the whole business. The Reading Room got on his nerves, and he suffered a good deal from insomnia at that time.

Partly because the Reading Room took so much out of him, and partly so that he might devote his evenings to the side issues of the work, such as his index, he gave up most amusements except, during the summer months, a little tennis of an afternoon. He had been very fond of amateur theatricals. He was a very good actor, and in the early eighties there was a little informal dramatic society, which originated at the house of R. H. Major, the former Keeper of the Maps, and consisted chiefly of Fortescue, Mrs. Godfrey Evans and her sister, Miss Major, and myself, with occasionally others, when more than four characters were required. We used to go about acting in parish-rooms and school-rooms for charitable purposes, and it was a great delight to Fortescue to get up these entertainments. But he was obliged to give up everything of this sort when he took over the Reading Room. The strain was too great.

GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE. 39

In one respect he was rather hardly used. Bond had promised him, rather vaguely and informally, no doubt, the next Assistant-Keepership, for he was doing the work of it without the pay. When a vacancy did occur, Bond did not give it to him, though he was not really passed over, for the new Assistant-Keeper was his senior. I think, indeed, he was somewhat of an 'accessory before the fact' to the appointment, for he always forbore his own advantage. However it came about, he had been doing the work of an Assistant-Keeper for six years before he was actually receiving the pay.

In 1896, after twelve years as Superintendent, Fortescue, being then the senior Assistant-Keeper, retired from the Reading Room to take his part, under Garnett as Keeper, in the general work of the department.

Then came upon him a terrible and unexpected sorrow, which overshadowed all the rest of his life. Mrs. Fortescue, who had been something of an invalid for some years, died after only a few days of really serious illness, and he never really recovered in health or spirits from the blow.

For four years he lived on at Grafton Square in solitude, looked after by a faithful servant, who had been with him for a long time. In 1899 Garnett retired, and Fortescue became Keeper of the Printed Books. In consequence of this appointment he had to remove to the official residence in the British Museum. In the autumn of the same year he married again, and his second wife (Beatrice, widow of Dr. H. Webster Jones) has survived him.

40 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

His reign as Keeper was a fairly long one. The work of the head of so large a department, equal to or even greater than all the rest of the Museum put together, is necessarily of a very varied character, and consists quite as much in the management of men as of books. And a great deal of it does not loom large before the world, or remain much on record after the worker has passed away. Unless some important event connected with the department happens to occur, there is little to distinguish one keepership from another, except perhaps some intangible improvement or deterioration in the standard of work and the morale of the department generally. But there was one quality which distinguished Fortescue's régime from all that had preceded it. There had been good Keepers before Fortescue, and there had been popular Keepers, but in my experience of the British Museum, which is a long one, and also in the traditions of the elders, never did I meet with a case in which the head of a department gained so completely the affectionate devotion of those under him. In olden times it had been rather the tradition for Keepers to be, if one may say so, a little 'stand-offish' or patronising to those under them, and especially with junior men. They might talk and even joke with them in a superior sort of way, but discipline had to be maintained. I do not think the Keepers liked it, any more than the captain of a man-of-war necessarily enjoys his solitary grandeur. But it somehow came to be so. Fortescue, not of any set purpose—for I do not suppose that he ever thought about it—but simply

GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE. 41

by being himself, put an end to the last remains of the old tradition. He treated all alike, and no one presumed upon it, while all responded. 'Popularity' is not the word for the feeling he evoked; it was affection.

The result of this personal feeling towards the Keeper acted exceedingly well on the work. His practice was to let every man as much as possible do his work in his own way, and to interfere as little as possible with details, and never for the sake of asserting himself. This had not always been the tradition, though in fairness I must say that during the twenty-five years of my work as 'placer of books' under three Keepers, I was never interfered with by any of them, which in the case of Garnett and Fortescue was not for want of knowing the work. It answered well when applied to the whole department.

The most prominent event of Fortescue's Keepership was the temporary closing of the Reading Room and the reorganisation of its contents in 1907. It was a big thing. Sixty thousand volumes were taken out of the Reading Room, and arranged elsewhere (a difficult problem), so that they could be got at if required. This reference library was completely revolutionised, and what was really a new selection put back, for all the obsolete books were weeded out and others substituted to bring the collection up to date, while the whole was so rearranged that hardly a book, on the ground floor at any rate, remained in its old place. All this had to be done in six months, with 'business carried on as usual during the alterations,'

42 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

while the Reading Room was being redecorated and repaired after the first fifty years of its existence. This was followed by a new and highly improved catalogue constructed under Fortescue's direction.

Besides this catalogue and the five volumes containing the Subject Index for thirty years, all of which were issued during his Keepership, under his direction and very largely as the work of his own hands, he also edited, and to a very great extent constructed, an important catalogue of the great collection of pamphlets, books, newspapers, etc., relating to the Great Rebellion, originally brought together by George Thomason, a bookseller of the time of King Charles I. During his Keepership there appeared also the first two volumes of the catalogue of the fifteenth century books in the British Museum, which had been brought together into one place and arranged according to place and printer (except for a small proportion left undone at the time of his death) by the late Robert Proctor.

Of the doings of the department and its Keeper after May, 1909, I cannot speak much from personal knowledge, for I retired at that time and went to live in the westernmost part of my native Cornwall.¹ But during my rare visits to London I always saw him, and we kept up something of a

¹ During 1909 and 1910 he was President of the Bibliographical Society, having already held the same position, in 1901, in the Library Association, in both cases with conspicuous success. Another office which came to him as Keeper of the Printed Books was that of a trustee of the Carlyle House at Chelsea, and in this, though he was no great admirer of Carlyle, he became warmly interested.

GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE. 43

correspondence by letter. During those years his health was often very bad. Indeed, he had very much illness during nearly all his time as Keeper. At the beginning of it he had been suffering from a distressing malady, of which an operation, serious though not dangerous, completely cured him, though he took a very long time to recover. Then he found his sight seriously affected, partly by diabetes, which he had developed, and still more by excessive smoking. He was a ravenous cigarette smoker, and it was a terrible affliction to have to give it up. But blindness, which he was only just in time to avoid, would have been the penalty of continuing. The diabetic trouble continued, and the disease was only kept at bay by very strict diet, always a very irksome thing to him. In December, 1909, he was suddenly seized with acute appendicitis, and operated upon immediately. For weeks he hovered between life and death in the nursing home to which he had been taken for the operation, and then in his own house. His recovery was slow, and for many weeks anything but sure; but eventually, owing in a great measure to the unremitting care and devotion of his wife, he recovered sufficiently to go abroad. There he remained for some months, and did not return to work for eight or nine months after the first seizure. Though very much weakened, he continued fairly well to all appearances, though the diabetes returned and troubled him a good deal. In October of 1912 came the end. Under the rules of the Service it was necessary that, having arrived at sixty-five, he should retire, and his old colleagues

44 GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE.

had decided to give a combined farewell dinner to him and to Mr. H. A. Grueber, the Keeper of Coins and Medals, who retired at about the same time, on 29th October, the day before the date fixed for his retirement. In the middle of September I was in town, and saw him several times. One day he took my wife and myself over the new buildings—which reminded him and me of the adventures in those other new buildings in 1863, of which I have already spoken. On another day I had tea with him at his club, and on the morning of 28th September I saw him for the last time in his room at the Museum. He seemed perfectly well, and said that he was better than he had been for years, but was dreading his retirement terribly. He had invested his whole mental capital in his Museum work, and losing it he was bankrupt, for he had no other resources. Nothing could take its place. When we parted he said, perhaps not quite seriously, that he should like to go to that dinner, but he wished he could die the next day. Wishes are not often so nearly granted. It was on the day after the dinner would have taken place that he was buried. About a fortnight after our last meeting he was taken with a complication of results of the chronic malady, and got worse and worse, until on the morning of 26th October all hope of recovery was given up, and he passed away at midday.

His work was done, and he died, as he had always wished, in harness. His was not an eventful life, though a very active one, and perhaps his memory will not endure very long, for he has left

GEORGE KNOTTESFORD FORTESCUE. 45

little in the way of literary work, and the only recognition which he received was an honorary LL.D. from the University of Aberdeen. But to those who saw and appreciated his lovable personality, his loyalty, his generosity and his self-abnegation, he will be a fair memory while life shall last.

Requiem æternam donet ei Dominus et lux perpetua luceat ei.

HENRY JENNER.

JAMES ABREE, PRINTER AND BOOKSELLER, OF CANTERBURY.

TOWARDS the close of the seventeenth century, the long series of restrictive Acts that had cramped the printing trade for nearly two centuries came to an end.

Under them, no printer was allowed to carry on his trade in any other place than the City of London, the City of York, and the two Universities; but now they could set up where they liked, and by the year 1750 there was hardly a town of any note in England that had not its printer. The immediate result was to bring these hitherto secluded places into closer touch with the world around them, for almost the first thing the newly-established printer did was to print a newspaper. On the other hand, the coming of these printers was not welcomed by the legitimate bookseller, who, perhaps, had been established for some years, and had practically a monopoly of the bookselling business, for another thing that the newcomer did almost immediately was to join the trades of bookseller and stationer to that of printing, thus setting up a very serious competition to the older firms.

Despite its importance as the seat of an Archbishop, Canterbury, which had possessed a printing

press in the sixteenth century, did not set up another until 1717. Even in 1717 the establishment of a printing press in the city was a speculation. What led James Abree's steps to Canterbury, we have no means of knowing. Soon after his arrival, he printed a sheet containing the names of the mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city who had encouraged 'the revival of printing'; but if any of them did so, it was privately and not publicly, for the records of the city are silent on the matter. I am rather inclined to put the printing of that sheet down to a piece of advertising on the part of the printer.

Abree was a shrewd man of business, and he did not begin his career in Canterbury by taking expensive premises in the High Street, the Mercery, or the Butter-Market, but set up his printing office in one of the narrow ways that led to the Castle—in his own words, 'over against the "Three Tuns," in Saint Margaret's Parish.' No such house as the 'Three Tuns' now exists in Canterbury, but there is little doubt that it is to be identified as the 'Queen's Arms,' which stands at the corner of Watling Street and Castle Street, and Abree's office and shop were somewhere at the corner where Margaret Street, Castle Street and Beer Cart Lane now meet.

James Abree's first work was the establishment of a newspaper which he called 'The Kentish Post, or Canterbury News Letter.' In form, it was a small folio sheet of four pages, printed in double columns, and it was issued twice a week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, the first number

bearing the date 1717. At one period, for a short time, the front page had a large woodcut view of the City of Canterbury, which is quite interesting in these days; but for some reason it was discarded after a few months' use. The character of this newspaper will be readily understood when it is said that with the exception of about four inches of space at the bottom of the last column, it consisted entirely of abstracts from the chief London journals of that time, the remainder being allotted to what James Abree considered to be interesting local news. But he might as well have been living in Timbuctoo for all the notice he took of what went on in Canterbury, and it frequently happened that several issues were published in succession without a single line of Kentish news, while it is quite possible that for what he did insert he was indebted to the London press.

The chief items of local news found in the 'Kentish Post' consist of the names of persons tried at the assizes, or executed on Pennenden Heath, an occasional account of a highway robbery on the Kentish roads, or the arrival or departure of troops from the garrison, and the annual election of the mayor and aldermen. Births, deaths and marriages were left unrecorded unless they had previously received notice in the London press, or unless they touched some very rich Kentish family, while the everyday life of the City of Canterbury was totally ignored.

But, though the 'Kentish Post' furnished so little Kentish news, it contained a great many Kentish advertisements, which were sandwiched in between

the various London extracts. Advertisements of lost property, strayed animals, land, houses, and businesses for sale, tradesmen's advertisements, theatrical advertisements, advertisements of cock-fights, boxing matches, horse racing, and sales of books, forming a useful mirror of the social life of the period, and extremely valuable as records of names and places in the county of Kent and City of Canterbury which it would be most difficult to trace in any other way.

The price of this sheet was twopence, one half-penny of which was for payment of the stamp duty.

Copies of the early numbers of the 'Kentish Post' are rare. The British Museum possesses nothing before 1729, and the Beane Institute at Canterbury does not possess a single copy of it. Its success was immediate, its circulation steadily rose, and Abree had his own staff of newsmen who distributed it throughout the country.

This bi-weekly publication gave Abree's workmen constant employment, and when to this is added the ordinary work of a jobbing office, the printing of cards, head-bills, and advertisements, there could not have been many days when his press or presses were idle. In course of time he began to print books, for the most part sermons preached either at the Cathedral or in one or other of the numerous churches and chapels with which Canterbury abounds. Amongst those of a different character was a volume by a local poetess entitled, 'Poems on Several Occasions. Canterbury: Printed by J. Abree, MDCCXL, 8vo'; and to this was

prefixed an interesting list of subscribers, the bulk of whom were Kentish people.

As a printer, James Abree was no better and no worse than most of his contemporaries. At the time he set up business most of the printers in this country used type purchased in Holland, and there is no doubt that Abree's office was stocked from that source. He had no great variety of sorts, and his ornaments and initials were of little merit; but his presswork was clean and fairly correct.

Abree was not only a printer: he was also a bookseller and stationer, and this branch of his work is quite as interesting as that of his printing office.

From very early times booksellers seem to have been chosen by their patrons as the proper persons to take care of letters, or to whom might be entrusted the buying of cravats and stockings, or any other articles they required. This, perhaps, arose from the fact that haberdashers and drapers often added bookselling to their legitimate trade, and in its turn explains why, in the eighteenth century, booksellers and stationers are found selling wall-papers and patent medicines. At James Abree's shop could be had all the ordinary stationery ware, such as writing-paper, sealing-wax, pens of all kinds, ink, pocket-books, note-books, playing-cards and almanacs, and also paper for covering walls.

With regard to this latter article, I find the following entries in an old account-book, kept by a resident in Canterbury:—‘Paid James Abree for four pieces of green ground paper for hanging

rooms. 16s.' 'Paid James Abree for six doz: paper borders for my chamber and the Gallery room at 9d. 4s. 6d.'

Patent medicines of every kind were to be had at Abree's printing-house. 'Squire's Genuine Grand Elixir' was warranted to cure all the ills under the sun. The famous 'Plaister for the Stomach' was the specific cure for ague. Dr. Daffy's 'Original and Famous Cordial' was a very old prescription, and was said to have preserved hundreds of families during the great plague of 1665. Dr. Chamberlain's 'Anodyne Necklace' also claimed to be a preservative against disease, and had an immense sale.

In addition to these Abree was agent for Dr. Eaton's 'Styptick for stopping bleeding,' Crawley's 'Pectoral lozenges' for coughs and colds, 'The True spirits of Scurvy Grass Drops,' and a host of others that he freely advertised in the 'Kentish Post.'

His stock of books was a large one, though perhaps he did not lay himself out for a very high-class trade in this respect. Books on every subject filled his shelves; but they were chiefly low-priced books of a popular character. In the booksellers' shops of a cathedral city works on divinity would naturally form the bulk of the stock. Abree laid in large numbers of Bibles, Prayer and hymn-books of all sizes, and no doubt did a large trade in them, as well as in sermons and controversial works. Works on agriculture and housekeeping, school-books, plays, all had a ready sale; but above and beyond all in popularity were the badly printed

and badly illustrated chap-books, the garlands of songs, the tales of Robin Hood and Little John, 'The true and genuine account of the many robberies committed by William Hook,' the love story of Romeo and Juliet, all to be had for a few pence. Another class of work in which Abree dealt largely was that issued in weekly and monthly parts, 'number-books,' as Charles Knight called them. This form of publication seems to have come into vogue about the beginning of the eighteenth century, and James Abree was agent for several London firms who issued such books. Amongst these may be noticed Jacob Hooper's 'Impartial History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England,' published in 1738. According to the advertisement printed in the 'Kentish Post,' the book was to be a small folio, printed in a neat roman letter, three sheets were to be issued every Monday for threepence, and the whole work was to be completed in fourteen calendar months; but if it exceeded that time the remaining parts of the History were to be issued to subscribers free of charge. The work was to be illustrated by twenty-six 'curious cuts,' by the best engravers of the day, and whenever an illustration was delivered, only two sheets of letterpress instead of three accompanied it.

A copy of this book is now in the British Museum, and appears to fulfil the promises held out in the advertisement. It is a small folio of one hundred and fifty-seven sheets and twenty-six full-page illustrations, and the imprint on the title-page runs, 'London: Printed and sold by all the

booksellers in Town and Country.' The cost to the subscriber of this work was fifteen shillings and threepence for a folio volume of upwards of six hundred pages. Another book of this class which Abree advertised was entitled, 'The Beauties of the English Stage, or the Select Dramatick works of the Learned,' and the conditions of issue in this case were that thirty-six pages of letterpress were to be delivered every week for twopence. It was estimated that fourteen or fifteen parts, comprising two comedies and two tragedies, would complete a volume, and would work out at fourpence-halfpenny or fivepence per play. It is not clear how the publishers arrived at this result, and unfortunately no copy of the work can be traced in order to verify it.

These parts were carried by Abree's 'newsmen' when they went their rounds with the 'Kentish Post,' as well as a store of ballads and chap-books for lighter reading. There must have been large numbers of these chapmen and newsmen on the roads during the eighteenth century. The London Bridge booksellers, for example, had a small army of 'chapmen' at work for them, and if we add to those the agents of other London firms, and to them again the representatives of the numerous booksellers throughout the country, it is evident that few days could have passed without a visit from one or other of these purveyors of literature.

But to return to James Abree's shop. In addition to books and stationery, he, in common with all booksellers, dealt in prints and maps; and no doubt portraits of famous divines and bishops,

as well as such views of Canterbury and its cathedral as then existed, adorned his windows or hung in his doorway, and attracted the curiosity and frequently the custom of the passer-by.

In 1768 a rival newspaper, called the 'Kentish Gazette,' was started in the city by another printer, James Simmons. Abree had taken into partnership some four years previously George Kirkby, the son of a Canterbury parson, and in this year 1768 he retired from business. His farewell letter to his customers is worth quoting :

Friends,—Having lately made known, by a public advertisement in this Paper, that I had entered into Articles of Agreement to resign my business in Favour of Mr. George Kirkby, Printer, Son of the Rev. Mr. Kirkby, deceased, formerly of this City: I think it my duty to inform you, that the Time of such my Resignation is now fix'd, and that the same will take place upon Midsummer Day the 24th of next Month.

In the meantime permit me to confess, that my Obligations to you are very many and very great: that I shall retain a just sense of them as long as I live; and as I was ever studious to merit your approbation, so has Success attended my Labours, and so shall I continue to enjoy every pleasing satisfaction that the Mind of Man can reasonably wish for, or expect.

Under the Influence of such grateful Impressions it is, that I resign my public Business for Retirement, with all due Acknowledgment and Thanks for the many and repeated Favours wherewith you have been pleased, for more than Fifty years past, to honour me, the first Printer and Publisher of *The Kentish Post*, or, *Canterbury News Letter*.

And once more may I be permitted to address the Public in general, and all my particular Friends, for the

Continuance of their Favours to the said Mr. George Kirkby, a young man in every respect qualified to succeed to my Business, who has for more than Four Years past shared in the management of it to my entire Satisfaction; and is capable of carrying on and improving the same, as he has had every Advantage of Improvement by a seven Years Apprenticeship under that eminent Printer Mr. Bettenham of London.

All this I think myself obliged in Justice and Regard to say of Mr. Kirkby, as I have so long experienced his Capacity, Sobriety, Diligence and Fidelity; and I make no doubt of his carrying into Execution the well-concerted Plan that he has lately offered for the Consideration of the Public.

I shall beg Leave to conclude with an earnest Recommendation of my Successor, *Mr. Kirkby*, to the Favours of the Public, and of all my particular Friends, sincerely wishing him that Countenance and Encouragement from them, which his Capacity and Merits do so justly intitle him to.

I am, and ever shall be,
With the greatest Truth and Respect,
Your most obliged humble Servant,
JAMES ABREE.

George Kirkby, on his part, promised to continue the publication of the 'Kentish Post.' In the issue of 2nd May, 1768, he assured the public that it would be dispersed in the usual manner by the news-carriers every Wednesday and Saturday; and in that of 7th May he declared his intention of printing it for the future on better paper and with new type, while it would be enlarged and many new features introduced. He mentions that he had been approached by the printer of the 'Kentish Gazette' with an offer of a partnership, which he

refused at that time. But, as a matter of fact, George Kirkby was no sooner in possession of the 'Kentish Post' than he accepted James Simmons's offer, and in the issue of 20th July, the eighth number after it passed into his hands, he inserted the following advertisement:

To our Respectable Friends the Public.


Sensible of *our* Dependance on your Favor and impell'd by the principle of Gratitude for the friendly assistance we have *separately* received by your kind Encouragement, and happy in having now the Pleasure of declaring that, agreeable to your general opinion of the utility of *one Paper*, a Partnership will immediately take place, and that on *Saturday next*, *The Kentish Gazette, or Canterbury Chronicle* will be published under the joint direction of Kirkby and Simmons, and regularly continued as usual.

and thus, after an existence of more than half a century, 'The Kentish Post and Canterbury News Letter' was swallowed by its rival.

James Abree did not live long after his retirement, as he died on 20th August, 1768, aged 77. Administration of his effects being granted to a married daughter.

HENRY R. PLOMER.

THE EDITION OF THE 'FASCICULUS TEMPORUM' PRINTED BY
ARNOLD THER HOERNEN IN
1474.

 AMONG the books which issued from the press of Arnold ther Hoernen, none is more remarkable than the edition of Werner Rolewinck's 'Fasciculus temporum,' which was printed in 1474. In the first place, it was the first authorised edition of the most popular chronicle of its time; secondly, it was the only illustrated book printed by ther Hoernen, and either the first or second illustrated book printed at Cologne; thirdly, it is interesting on bibliographical grounds, on account of the differences found in various copies. An examination of these different issues throws considerable light on the methods of a fifteenth century printer.

Ther Hoernen's edition has usually been considered the *editio princeps*, but it disputes priority with an edition printed by Nicolaus Gotz. Among recent bibliographers, Voulliéme¹ considered that ther Hoernen's edition preceded that of Gotz, on the grounds that ther Hoernen was Rolewinck's

¹ 'Der Buchdruck Kölns bis zum Ende des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts.' Bonn, 1903, p. xvii. and note.

58 THE 'FASCICULUS TEMPORUM'

regular printer; but he states that Krautzsch in his 'Die Holzschnitte der Kölner Bibel von 1479' expressed the opposite view without giving any reason for his opinion. Gotz's edition is undated, but there is a statement at the end of the table that it starts at the time of Adam and ends with the year 1474. A comparison of the two editions makes it quite clear that ther Hoernen's was the authorised one. It is probable, however, that Gotz's edition either preceded it in publication, or was in the press at the same time. Ther Hoernen states in the colophon to his edition that the chronicle is printed 'sicut ab autore suo quodam deuoto carthusiensi coloniae edita est ac secundum exemplar quod ipse venerabilis autor propriis conscripsit manibus.' This emphasising of the authenticity of the edition was, one may suppose, inserted to warn purchasers against an incorrect edition, which had been, or was about to be, issued.

The two editions differ very widely, and may almost be considered different works. That printed by Gotz is clearly a recension of Rolewinck's work, but the preface has been largely rewritten, the mode of expression is in many cases more concise, and a great deal has been omitted or epitomized, especially in the latter part, though there are a few entries which are not found in ther Hoernen's edition. At the year 1468 the common source disappears. After this date Gotz's edition contains very few entries, and these, with the exception of the last, are very meagre. This last entry describes at unusual length the entertainment accorded to the Emperor Frederick and his son Maximilian

at Trèves by Charles, Duke of Burgundy, 'die v post Francisci' (9th October) 1473. The company attended Mass at the church of St. Maximin, and the banquet was held in the refectory of the monastery. From the detailed descriptions of the decoration of the church and the refectory, it is possible that the compiler of this recension of the chronicle was a monk of the monastery of St. Maximin at Trèves.

In ther Hoernen's edition the introduction and the text of the chronicle occupy sixty-four folio leaves in seven gatherings without signatures, the first four consisting of ten and the remaining three of eight leaves apiece: these are preceded by a table printed on one gathering. The table,¹ the introduction, which occupies three pages, and the colophon, with the exception of the word *conscriptit*, are printed in type 1 (100); the text of the chronicle and the one word in the colophon in type 2 (88). The colophon and printer's device which follows it are printed in red. In the chronicle the type is set up unevenly on the page, and headings, such as the names of the popes and emperors, are enclosed within circles.

The illustrations are eight in number—i, the ark; ii, the rainbow; iii, the tower of Babel; iv, a city with a large circular domed building (fig. 1); v, a city with towers (fig. 2); vi, Our Lord in the act of benediction; vii, a view of Cologne (fig. 3); viii, the Crucifixion. In some copies the order of Nos. iv and v is reversed, No. v being found on the

¹ In the table a dot is placed before the number to signify the recto of a leaf, and after it to indicate the verso.

60 THE 'FASCICULUS TEMPORUM'

recto of fol. 5, as a picture of Nineveh, and No. iv on the verso, representing Trèves. Although it is



Fig. 1

not easy to see in either woodcut any very close resemblance to either Nineveh or Trèves, or any other city for that matter, the order of my numbering is evidently that in which the blocks were



Fig. 2

intended to be placed, for No. iv is used later in the book as a view of another eastern city—

Jerusalem; while No. v, with the extinguishers cut off from the towers, has to do duty for Rome. The transposition of the blocks has caused a slight alteration in the arrangement of the type on the



Fig. 3. Half the dimensions of original

recto of fol. 5; on the verso the change was effected without readjustment.

The woodcuts of Cologne and the Crucifixion did not arrive from the woodcutter until after the book had been completed, and the earliest copies issued are without them; but impressions from the blocks were added, being stamped in probably by hand, to the copies remaining unsold. The sheets had already been folded, for in the case of the view of Cologne, a blind impression from the block is clearly seen on the corresponding leaf of the gathering in every copy containing it which I have examined. The view of Cologne has a particular interest as being, so far as I am aware, the earliest printed pictorial representation of an actual city. The unfinished state of the cathedral can be clearly seen in the illustration. It is impossible to say with certainty when these extra

62 THE 'FASCICULUS TEMPORUM'

illustrations were added, but it was probably not very long after the book had been printed, for they appear in the copy in the Rylands Library, which belongs to the earlier group. One other illustration, to represent the Temple, was probably contemplated, for a space is left for it; but I have not seen it in any copy, although it is among the regular illustrations of the later editions, and appears in Conrad Winters' edition of 1476, and in Gotz's second edition, published in 1477 or 1478, in which the blocks are direct copies from ther Hoernen's. In Gotz's edition of 1474 the illustrations are quite different, and are the work of another woodcutter. Winters' and Gotz's second edition both contain woodcuts of Cologne and the Crucifixion, similar to ther Hoernen's. In Quentel's edition, printed in 1479, a more picturesque view of Cologne is introduced. In the editions printed by Veldener and Drach, Cologne is represented merely by a conventional woodcut of a town.

The copies of ther Hoernen's edition known to me divide into four main issues:

I. With a Table of eight leaves, beginning 'Tabula brevis et utilis sup/libello q̄da q̄ dicitur fasciculus'/ etc. (the heading printed in black), and ending on fol. 8 verso, column 3, line 43, 'Zozimus papa 36.' 48-9 lines.

No woodcuts of Cologne or the Crucifixion.

II. With the same Table as the first issue, and with a woodcut of Cologne on the recto of fol. 24, and one of the Crucifixion on the recto of fol. 25.

III. With a Table of nine leaves, the gathering consisting of ten leaves, of which the first is blank. This Table begins 'Tabula brevis et utilis sup/ libello q̄da q̄ dicitur fascicul^o' etc. (the heading printed in red), and ends on fol. 10 verso, column 2, line 32, 'Zozimus papa 36.' 44 lines.

With woodcuts of Cologne and the Crucifixion.

IV. As No. III, but with a continuation printed on the verso of the last leaf. This continuation begins 'In eodē anno. 73. In treveri,' and ends 'robur nobilium.'

The copies of the last issue must have been sold by ther Hoernen some time after 5th January, 1477, for the latest event recorded in the continuation is the burial of Charles the Bold, who was slain on that date. This issue of the 'Fasciculus temporum' affords, so far as I am aware, the earliest example of the publication of 'stop press' news. I think it is possible that this re-issue was produced with the primary object of scoring off Gotz, whom ther Hoernen had not forgiven for anticipating him in 1474. Gotz's second edition has no actual date of printing, but is stated to go down to the year 1478; however, the latest entry is the following:—'Ita ut Anno domini 1477. Reinhardus dux cum Switensibus bellum obtinuit et Karolum superavit.' There is no mention of the death of Charles, consequently ther Hoernen's edition with the continuation would have been more up-to-date than Gotz's new edition.

Considering the number of years that copies of the book remained on the market, ther Hoernen's edition would not seem to have been a very

64 THE 'FASCICULUS TEMPORUM'

popular one. During this period several other editions had appeared. In 1475 Veldener had printed one at Louvain; in the next year Conrad Winters printed one at Cologne; and in 1477 an edition issued from the press of Peter Drach at Speier. It is probable that the number of copies printed by ther Hoernen was considerable, which would partly account for the book being in print for some years.

Neither Hain, Copinger, nor Voulliéme mentions more than one edition of the table, but both tables are described in the 'Catalogue of Books printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum' (Part I, p. 204). Mr. Pollard, however, if my conclusions are correct, was in error in considering the nine-leaf table earlier than that printed on eight leaves, and, if so, both copies in the British Museum are bound up with their proper tables, and not with the wrong ones, as stated in the catalogue.¹ The following considerations show, I think, that the eight-leaf table is the earlier. In the first place, there are certain additions and corrections in the nine-leaf table, the nature of which, I think, clearly indicates that the nine-leaf table is a revision of that printed on eight leaves. Secondly, the same kind of paper is used for the eight-leaf table as for the rest of the book, whereas the nine-leaf table is printed on paper with two

¹ Mr. Murray's corollary is so comforting that I have much pleasure in accepting his correction. The reasons which led me to an opposite conclusion are suggested in his next paragraph. I have never met another instance in which an early printer, in reprinting a table, used an extra sheet of paper in order to introduce a few corrections.—A. W. P.

different watermarks, neither of which occurs in the eight-leaf table or in the rest of the book. Thirdly, the eight-leaf table is printed with four pin-holes, as is the case with the rest of the book, whereas the nine-leaf table has two pin-holes only. Fourthly, the conclusion that the eight-leaf table is the earlier is the only one which will fit in with the sequence of the issues. As will be seen from the list of copies at the end of this article, the earlier copies of the book have the eight-leaf table bound up with them, and the later ones that on nine leaves.

I have been unable to ascertain with any degree of certainty the date at which ther Hoernen's nine-leaf table was printed, or the reason why it was printed at all. It seems possible that he may have intended to print an elaborate table, such as that prefixed to Gotz's first edition, and consequently may have only printed a limited number of the earlier eight-leaf table, and that when the supply ran out his original idea was relinquished and a new table was printed on the lines of the old one, with some additions and corrections. These certainly are not of sufficient importance to have caused the printer to cancel a considerable stock. Between the letters B and O there are only about twelve additions and five corrections in the order. It is unusual to find a fifteenth-century printer taking the trouble to correct a table when reprinting it; possibly, in this case, the author himself may have had something to do with the matter. It is also unusual to find a reprinted table occupying more leaves than the original. In the present case,

66 THE 'FASCICULUS TEMPORUM'

even with the additions, I think it might have been just possible for the printer to have got the contents on to eight leaves, and by so doing to have saved two leaves. I think a possible solution of ther Hoernen's reason for not doing so is that his press was at the time arranged to print his ordinary size of small folios, and he did not consider it worth while altering it in order to print a single gathering. The alteration would probably also have necessitated the use of four pins, instead of the two which seem to have been found sufficient for folios of the smaller size.

I hoped that the watermarks and the state of the type would have afforded more conclusive evidence

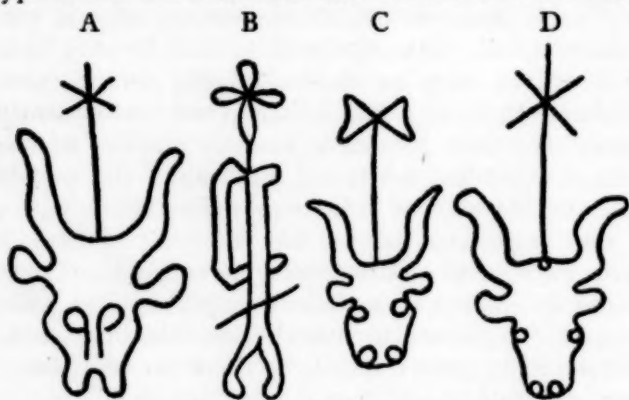


Fig. 4. Two-thirds of dimensions of originals

than they do as to the date of this second table. A careful examination of six copies of the book showed that paper with four different types of watermark was used. Examples of these are here reproduced from tracings (fig. 4). It is often

PRINTED BY THER HOERNEN. 67

very difficult to be sure from watermarks which sheets of paper were made on the same frame, and to know how far a difference in the shape of a watermark is due to the wire having shifted in the process of making a batch of paper; for this reason I have only divided the watermarks into types. In the case of A, it would seem as if paper with this type of watermark was made on several frames, for sometimes the horns are wide apart, as in the example illustrated, while in others they are closer together; sometimes the wires used for the eyes touch the outer line by the mouth, if the indentation may be considered to represent that organ, and sometimes one of the wires forming the eyes has been turned over. Paper with watermarks of the A type is always used, with the exception of one sheet in one copy, for the body of the book and for the eight-leaf table. Watermark B only occurs on one sheet of the chronicle in my own copy. This sheet would seem to belong to the same batch of paper as that used by Gotz in his edition. Paper with watermarks of types C and D is used for the nine-leaf table. This paper is of finer texture than that with the A type of watermark.

An examination of ther Hoernen's books shows that he bought his paper in small quantities. I hoped, therefore, to have been able to find out from his dated books when he was using paper with watermarks C and D. With this end in view, I examined the dated books printed in 1474, 1475, and 1477, in the British Museum and in the University Library at Cambridge.

68 THE 'FASCICULUS TEMPORUM'

Unfortunately, ther Hoernen, in common with the other early Cologne printers, very seldom dated his books, and no book dated 1476 is known. None of the books examined contains paper with watermark D, but one sheet with watermark C is used in the table of the University Library copy of Augustinus de Ancona's 'Summa de potestate ecclesiastica,' finished 26th January, 1475. This is slender evidence on which to build any theory; but, so far as it goes, it seems to show that ther Hoernen bought a supply of paper with watermark C when he had almost finished printing his Augustinus de Ancona, the table naturally having been the last part of the book to have been printed. The evidence obtainable from the type also points to about the same date. When ther Hoernen began to print, the upper-case letters of his type were identical with those of the Printer of Dictys; these were gradually replaced by others of a different form. The substitution was not completely effected till after 1477, for the E, M and S of the Dictys fount are occasionally used in Gerardus de Schueren's 'Teutonista' and Guido Colonna's 'Historia Troiana,' both printed in that year. Dictys' upper-case letters (especially E and M) are used with about the same frequency in both the tables to the 'Fasciculus temporum,' and in the Albertus Magnus of 1474. From the above evidence I think we may assume that the second table was probably printed in 1475. Some evidence which might be considered to indicate a later date is afforded by the tables to Winters' (1476) and Drach's (1477) editions. Each of these appears

to have been set up from ther Hoernen's first, and not his second table, and each contains several entries which are not found in his eight-leaf table, but were embodied with the other corrections in his nine-leaf table. All these entries are more or less obvious omissions, and I think the fact that they are included in ther Hoernen's revised table must be regarded only as a coincidence.

There is one more point of difference in the printing of the two tables. In the first there are four pin-holes to the page as in the rest of the book, but in the reprinted table there are only two. This, however, affords no evidence of date, for ther Hoernen was printing folios with two pin-holes as early as 1471.

Most of the copies of the book seem to have had the foliation, initials, and paragraph mark filled in in red and blue before they left the printing house, for the work in the majority of copies is of a more or less uniform character. On fol. 61 verso is a curious misprint, 'exactores' being printed instead of 'electores'; this misprint has been corrected in MS. by the same hand in every copy which I have examined, except one. The word as it originally stood probably expressed the truth, but might not have been considered pleasing to the eyes of the prince bishop of Cologne. This misprint was carried into other editions.

The following list shows to which issue certain copies of the book belong:—

First issue. Eight-leaf Table. No woodcuts of Cologne or the Crucifixion.

70 THE 'FASCICULUS TEMPORUM'

Copies: † British Museum I. (1B. 3127), Bodleian I (Auct. Q 2. infra I. 2), † Bodleian II (Auct. 4 Q IV. 17), † P. M. Barnard I.

Second issue. Eight-leaf Table. Woodcuts of Cologne and the Crucifixion.

Copy: John Rylands Library.

Third issue. Nine-leaf Table. Woodcuts of Cologne and the Crucifixion.

Copy: † P. M. Barnard II.

Fourth issue. As the third issue, but with a continuation printed on the verso of the last leaf.

Copies: † British Museum II (1B. 3128), University Library, Cambridge, A. G. W. Murray (formerly Wodhull and Amherst).

I am indebted to Mr. F. Madan for kindly having had the two copies in the Bodleian examined for me, and to Mr. H. Guppy for supplying me with particulars of the copy in the John Rylands Library. I have myself examined the other copies.

Voulliéme records the following copies without the continuation: Darmstadt (Grossherzog. Hofbibl.), Cologne (Stadtbibl.), Gotha (Herzog. Bibliothek), Hague (Koninkl. Bibl.), Metz, Trèves (Stadtbibl.); and the following two copies with the continuation: Cologne (Stadtbibl.), Trèves (Stadtbibl.).

Possibly it may be considered that in the foregoing notes I have treated a subject of rather minor

† The dagger indicates that woodcut v (fig. 2) is printed on the recto of fol. 5, and woodcut iv (fig. 1) on the verso.

interest at greater length than would seem to be justified. If so, my defence is that anything which affords evidence of the methods of the fifteenth century printers is of primary importance in dealing with their books, and that often by studying their methods in detail we get some insight into the minds of the men who are too often considered merely as 'presses.'

A. G. W. MURRAY.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

MY attention was drawn lately to a remarkable book of reminiscences by Helene von Racowitza, the heroine of George Meredith's 'Tragic Comedians,' whose death occurred last year. 'Von Anderen und mir. Erinnerungen aller Art,' the title of the volume in question, is a curious revelation of the character of a vain woman very sure of herself and of her powers of attraction. She evidently regarded herself as a person of strong character, and yet almost every act of her life betrays weakness. In later life she certainly set aside every sort of convention, often when nothing whatever was to be gained by it. Had she taken a higher hand in the episode with Lassalle, things might have turned out very differently. It is not easy to forgive a woman—notwithstanding youth and beauty and cruel parents—who married the man whose hand killed Lassalle, her lover and fiancé, in a duel. It is a great tribute to Meredith's genius that though he had not before him the complete revelation of her character shown in this latest volume from her pen, he grasped it exactly as it was, and a careful re-reading of his novel proves that there is nothing wanting in his portrayal of Helene Dönniges.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE. 73

In spite of her advocacy throughout her life of equal laws and rights in everything for men and women, when turned adrift by her family after Racowitza's death, she proved singularly incapable of supporting herself without a man's aid, although she tried the stage, literature, and medicine. That she possessed superior talent and great personal attraction is not to be denied; but she lacked the balance, the power of adaptation, and the recognition of the claims of others that are necessary qualifications for a successful professional career.

But apart from herself and her character, the book is interesting from the references to and portraits of the various people of importance in all parts of the world with whom she came in contact. Paul Heyse, Hans Andersen, Kaulbach the painter, Liebig the chemist, Ludwig II of Bavaria, Napoleon III, Lenbach, who painted her portrait for Schack's Gallery in Munich—she tells us that Schack wanted to marry her, and, indeed, according to her, every man of note she met was a prospective husband or lover—Henry George, Madame Blavatski, are only a few of the persons of note that figure in the book. Helene tells many amusing stories, not, of course, always intended by her to be amusing, and one of the most entertaining relates how she nearly became a political spy in the pay of Bismarck. A certain H. v. B., colonel in the royal general staff, approached her on Bismarck's behalf, and put before her all the advantages to be reaped from such an employment. One day he presented her with a large sheet of

74 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

paper, and told her it contained his report regarding her and her fitness for the post, and Bismarck's comments on the same, which ran: 'All very well; but it is the report of a schoolboy in love—not of a serious, impartial staff-officer. v. B.'

I think that a number of contemporary German novelists have modelled their heroines, clever and beautiful girls fighting for the rights they deem to belong to their sex, on the career of Helene Dönniges. However that may be, I can promise readers of these memoirs more entertainment than they will find in any novel of the day, and, if they can bring themselves to believe in the writer's sincerity, psychological problems that will lead to serious thought.

French critics continue their studies in English literature. Chaucer and Tennyson have already been dealt with in a series called '*Les grands écrivains étrangers*,' and now we have Browning. Shakespeare (by Professor Legouis), Meredith, Keats, and Carlyle are to follow. The volume on Browning is by Pierre Berger, who has practically enlarged a short study he published a few years ago. Berger finds Browning's chief characteristics to be '*pensée morale et création psychologique*.' With Browning the artist is always 'doublé' with the thinker, and Berger declares that the poet knew and understood the human soul better than anyone since Shakespeare, and places him among the greatest of English poets, surpassed only by the mighty figures of Shakespeare, Milton, or Shelley. Berger concludes in an eloquent passage which sums up admirably Browning's great qualities,

and his marvellous ability in combining the real and the ideal.

'La posterité le mettra sans doute à côté de Tennyson, formant avec lui les deux sommets de la poésie victorienne. Tennyson y paraîtra d'une beauté plus simple, plus classique, plus accessible. Browning sera une cime rugueuse et escarpée, à la montée plus pénible. Mais on y trouvera des essences variées et robustes, une floraison d'une richesse extraordinaire, un air vif et fortifiant, des horizons immenses, une lumière resplendissante sur laquelle ne passent point les nuages de l'hésitation ou du doute. On y sentira plus fortement que partout ailleurs, sous les pieds, le roc ferme de la réalité humaine, et, en face de soi, tout aussi réels, les espaces infinis de l'idéal et de Dieu.'

A very interesting little pamphlet has been sent me on 'Nicholas Rowe's "Fair Penitent," with a side reference to Richard Beer-Hofmann's "Der Graf von Charolais."' It is written in excellent English by Dr. Ferdinand H. Schwarz, of Solothurn, Switzerland. His object is to show that Massinger (the 'Fair Penitent' was based on Massinger's 'Fatal Dowry') 'casts his shadow over three centuries, and that his fertilising influence on succeeding dramatists or would-be dramatists was not confined to England.'

Dr. Willibald Wodick, in 'Jacob Ayrers Dramen in ihren Verhältniss zur einheimischen Literatur und zum Schauspiel der englischen Komödianten,' discusses the Ayer plays in their relations to the older native literature, and to the English actors. He considers that the plays owe more to the old native Meistersinger dramas than to the elements

76 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

introduced by the English actors, from whom, however, Ayler learnt the exigencies of the stage, and used his knowledge to improve stagecraft in his country. Wodick finds that in the first half of the sixteenth century Germany was as far or farther than England in dramatic matters. Hans Sachs was far ahead of John Heywood, and it was due to the unfortunate circumstances of the Reformation and the Thirty Years' War that a similar advance to that in England did not take place in Germany. The author has nothing of much originality to offer, but he has collected a mass of information that it is very convenient to have within the covers of one little volume; it is unfortunate that it should be ill arranged and without an index.

Dr. Bernhard Fehr's 'Streifzüge durch die neueste englische Literatur' is a useful record of English 'belles lettres' during the last few years. I cannot say that the method of classification commends itself. Everything and everybody is ticketed: for example, Pater is classified under æsthetic impressionism, Samuel Butler under philosophic impressionism, Kipling under realistic impressionism; Oscar Wilde, George Moore, and Gissing under the heading 'decadence,' and Shaw, Wells, and Masfield under 'apparent contradiction between individualism and criticism'; Galsworthy, Mrs. Humphry Ward, and Thomas Hardy as writers of the 'Weltanschauungsroman' of the School of Meredith. But, despite this mania for labelling everybody, the author, who is a Dozent at the University of Zürich, has performed his task

with thoroughness, and if he is at times a little over-enthusiastic, he shows real knowledge and appreciation of our modern literature.

Augustin Hamon devotes a volume to Bernard Shaw, entitled 'Le Molière du XX^e siècle,' with the aim, among other things, 'of gaining admirers and disciples of Shaw among the literary youth of France.' Hamon, who has translated several of Shaw's plays, points out that his method of subordinating the development of the sentimental action to the painting of characters and to the exposition and discussion of ideas, though regarded apparently as new, is nothing but the revival of the 'théâtre' of Molière and Beaumarchais; the restoration to the stage of the high comedy of a century ago, the continuation of the great classical line having been interrupted by romanticism and naturalism.

Not only English literature, but also English economics, now form a subject of interest and study in France. In the two volumes 'Histoire financière et économique de l'Angleterre, 1066-1902,' Étienne Martin gives us a complete history of English finance. He had intended writing a third volume, in which the actual situation to-day was to be treated, and a contemporary budget to be examined. Let him state in his own words his reasons for abandoning the plan :

Mais des événements récents qui ont déjà ébranlé les assises sur les quelles repose l'antique constitution britannique, enlève à un semblable exposé tout l'intérêt—non dénué d'enseignements—que peut offrir le spectacle d'institutions stables et bien définies; les modifications apportées déjà dans l'assiette et les taux des divers impôts;

78 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

les bouleversements budgétaires et administratifs que vont entraîner l'autonomie législative de l'Irlande, et les mesures qui seront vraisemblablement adoptées ensuite pour doter l'Écosse et le pays de Galles d'une indépendance financière à peu près absolue;—tous ces changements, qui se succèdent rapides et nombreux, indiquent que l'on est entré dans une ère de réformes radicales et que l'on commence l'expérience d'un régime nouveau.

Martin published in 1905 'Les Impôts directs en Angleterre.'

We study history to-day in official records, and in the narratives of the professional historians. But few historians nowadays are literary artists like Macaulay and Froude; they are careful meticulous students who, while they rarely make an error either of judgment or of fact, equally seldom paint an event or a portrait in an arresting fashion. We are, therefore, the more grateful for such a book as '1870-71. Une famille pendant la guerre et la Commune.' It contains a series of family letters published by André Delaroché-Vernet, a grandson both of Paul Delaroché and Horace Vernet. When war was declared he was third Secretary of Legation at the French Foreign Office. These letters then describe almost from day to day what was seen and thought in a family of Parisians who were in a position to see a little more clearly and a little farther than other people, and it is of extreme interest to learn how matters were viewed by people of intelligence who were actually on the spot. It seems strange to realise that throughout these great events ordinary life went its way, and that the Parisians soon became

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE. 79

accustomed even to a state of siege, with all its privations and restrictions and dangers. Such sidelights have great value and help future generations to understand the soul of a people far better than can be done with the aid of official history alone.

Such books, too, as 'Episodes de la guerre de trente ans. Le Maréchal de Guébriant (1602-1643),' by the Vicomte de Noailles, likewise form valuable sidelights on history, though of a different class. The author here seeks to show that even the military glories of the First Empire are put in the shade by those of the older armies of France. They ought not to be forgotten, and profitable lessons may be derived from them. In two former volumes of these episodes we have had the careers of the Cardinal de Vallette and of Bernard de Saxe-Weimar described; and in the volume before me we have the life history of a hero 'en ces temps critiques où, dans l'Allemagne en révolution, dans l'Europe en feu, l'épée se mettait d'elle-même à la main de ceux qui avaient du cœur et de l'audace, qui aimaient les aventures ou rêvaient de hautes fortunes.' The Maréchal de Guébriant had a brilliant military career; he lost an arm at Rottweil, and died a week later. The victor of Wolfenbuttel and of Kempen, he was one of the great captains of the seventeenth century, the century of Turenne and Condé, and offered a model for those who adopted the vocation of arms at the end of the reign of Louis XIII, and gave so much glory to that of Louis XIV.

80 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

The second volume of Ferdinand Brunetière's great '*Histoire de la littérature française classique, 1515-1830*,' has been compiled by pupils of Brunetière under the supervision of MM. Chéret and René Doumic. It deals with the seventeenth century, and is based, on Brunetière's schemes for each lecture at the *Ecole Normale Supérieure*, and the notes taken by the students and revised by the professor. The work is to be continued on the same plan, and whatever may be lacking, it will, as René Doumic says in his preface, at least contain the materials and faithfully reproduce the broad lines of the monument Brunetière proposed to erect.

Alfred de Vigny's '*amitiés*' and his '*rôle littéraire*' form the subject of an interesting volume by Ernest Dupuy. It lacks literary form, and is really of the character of a note-book, but will, however, be of great service to anyone wishing to write a definitive monograph on De Vigny. We learn here who were the friends of his college years, or his period of military service, of the '*Cénacle*,' and among these were Nodier, V. Hugo, A. Dumas, Lamartine, De Musset, and Gautier. His friends in England, which he visited in 1839, were the Count d'Orsay, Henry Reeve, Mrs. Austin, and the Grotes. His disciples were Brizeux and Barbier, and Baudelaire, Mistral, and Barbey d'Aurevilly were of his literary clientèle.

'*La bataille romantique*,' by Jules Marsan, is not a history of '*romantisme*,' but a detailed and scholarly account of the divergent directions of the movement, and an attempt to discover how the

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE. 81

'unité romantique a pu se dégager de la confusion.' It deals with the various sides and developments of a change that was to have such great importance for French literature. The author discusses, among other things, 'la muse française,' 'romantisme,' and the historical stage, 'romantisme,' and Latin tradition. An interesting chapter deals with Edgar Quinet and F. Buloz. There exists, of course, an immense literature on this subject, but each new work always seems to give some fresh point of view.

As a general rule, it is only the student of old world literature who troubles himself about Walther von der Vogelweide. Rudolf Wustmann has produced a work on the subject eminently suited to the lay reader, by whom, if fond of poetry, Vogelweide should not be neglected. In form and melody, indeed, he is scarcely excelled by modern German poets. Vogelweide was really a 'singer' in the special sense of the word, and Wustmann tells us something about his music too. No study of German art and poetry can be wholly satisfactory unless we know something of Walther von der Vogelweide.

In a pleasantly written little book, 'Sur l'art contemporain,' Pierre Baudin sets out to prove that France is still the centre of art.

'Par son esprit ardemment épris d'idéal, par ses luttes intestines, ses controverses, ses créations littéraires, dramatiques et comiques, son ironie et sa crédulité, la variété de ses tendances, les replets changeants de son génie traditionnel, par son luxe, par sa lumière, par la ville étonnante qui le domine, ce pays reproduit à un certain

82 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

degré l'image des républiques italiennes au temps de la prospérité de leurs marchés et de leurs banques. Comme elles, il est favorable à l'épanouissement de l'art.'

It was Taine's belief, too, because he thought that in France always 'l'œuvre idéale a résumé la vie réelle.' Baudin divides his book into two parts, treating respectively of art and the state, and of artists and the state.

An attempt to define 'le dernier état de la peinture' is made by André Salmón in 'La jeune peinture française.' He points out that there is not only a new way of being a painter, but also a new way of being young. Palette in hand, these new young painters tell you that 'ils se flattent de ne plus faire la peinture,' and judging by the results that figure on the walls of exhibitions, I can well believe it. The book, however, is a report of what is going on—let us hope, in a very small section of the artistic community—and is not a 'plaidoirie' for or against the new methods and ideals.

Marcelle Tinayre's new novel, 'Madeleine au Miroir,' lacks plot and characterisation, but contains truths said in the right spirit of detachment concerning women at the present day. Madeleine, a widow of thirty-five, with two children, sets down her reflections on life in general and woman's life in particular. There is a pretty background of an old-world garden, and a probable second husband in the person of a painter with an attractive personality, younger in age than Madeleine, hovers in the distance.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE. 83

The interest of Gerhart Hauptmann's 'Atlantis' turns on the wreck of a big American liner. I understand that it was written before the wreck of the 'Titanic,' and is then indeed a strange foreseeing of events. The story is slight and not arresting, and if the strangely disagreeable set of people here described are typical of those who cross the Atlantic in these days, there are more terrors in a voyage to New York than those of stormy weather or collisions or bad seamanship.

* * * * *

The following recently published books deserve attention:—

La femme dans le théâtre d'Ibsen. Par Fredericke Boettcher.

A volume in the series 'Bibliothèque de philologie et de littérature modernes.'

Goethe und die Antike. Von Ernst Maass.

Goethe's relations to the antique as set forth in his writings. Lengthy quotations (the book contains 650 pages) to prove that Goethe's genius is akin to that of the ancients.

Zur englischen Namenkunde. Von Erik Björkman.

A volume of 'Studien zur englischen Philologie,' edited by Lorenz Morsbach, of great philological interest and usefulness.

Gottfried August Bürger. Der Roman seines Lebens in seinen Briefen. Edited by Paul Wolfgang Mediow.

A good account of a romantic but unhappy life. He was the author of the ballad 'Lenore' (translated by Scott), which, together with Goethe's 'Götz von Berlichingen,' had a vast influence on the literature of Europe.

84 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft. Vol. III. Edited by Alfred Gercke and Eduard Norden.

It deals with Greek and Roman history and antiquities, and contains an index to all three volumes. It is a useful publication.

Jean François Le Sueur, 1760-1837. Par F. Lamy.

A contribution to the history of French music. Le Sueur, a native of Amiens, was a distinguished musician, almost but undeservedly forgotten.

Manuel pratique pour l'étude de la Révolution Française. Par Pierre Caron. Avec une lettre préface de M. A. Aulard.

A historical bibliography invaluable for the student. It includes not only printed books and documents, but unpublished papers, and where they are to be seen.

Les sources de l'argot ancien. Par L. Sainéan. 2 vols.

Vol. i covers the subject 'des origines à la fin du XVIII^e siècle,' and vol. ii the nineteenth century to 1850.

Artistes et amis des arts. Par Henry Roujon.

Essays, among others, on Bourguereau, Gérôme, Verdi, and a specially interesting study of Ludovic Halévy.

La police secrète du premier empire. Publié par Ernest d'Hauterive.

The daily reports made by Fouché to the Emperor, 1804-5-6. They form excellent material for history, but are not, properly speaking, history themselves.

Wellington Général en chef (1808-1840). Par Ed. Bonnal. Vol. I.

It deals with Wellington's campaigns in Portugal, and opens with six chapters on 'The England of the Tories against France.'

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE. 85

Le Jubilé de Frédéric Mistral. Cinquantenaire de Mireille. Arles, 29-30-31 Mai, 1909. Par J. Charles Roux.

A sumptuous volume with fine illustrations giving a full account of the fêtes held at Arles. It makes an interesting record for all who love the poetry and sunshine and good wine of Provence.

Six Années. La Russie de 1906 à 1912. Par Pierre Polejaïeff.

Adapted from the Russian, and preceded with an introduction of seventy pages by Gaston Dru. The motto of the work lies in the old Russian song of justice: 'O Justice, our mother with eagle's wings, where art thou to be found?'

Réflexions sur quelques poètes. Par Jean Moréas.

Not much more than notes; but a poet's criticism on poets is always interesting.

Max Reinhardt. Von Siegfried Jacobsohn.

An interesting account of the career of the Director of the Deutsche Theater in Berlin. It is worthy of notice that he has produced there nine plays of Shakespeare, five of Shaw, and four of Oscar Wilde.

* * * * *

The following are among recently published novels:—

Feuilles mortes. Par Jacques Morel:—

The heroine, a young girl who, married to a man she thought she loved, discovers her error, and that she loves another man, tells her own history. The novel has been awarded the prize of 'La vie heureuse' for 1912. The author is really Mme. Edmond Pottier.

86 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

Les Filles de la Pluie. Par André Savignon.

This novel has won the 'prix Goncourt' for 1912.

Sous la rafale. Par Joannès Mignard.

Les errants. Roman Colonial. Par Jean Renaud.

Du Schwert an meiner Linken! Von Rudolph Stratz.

Plaudereien eines alten Freundespaars. Von Paul Heyse.

ELIZABETH LEE.

WENCESLAUS BRACK'S 'VOCABULARIUS RERUM.'

THE 'Vocabularius rerum' of Wenceslaus Brack of Constance, a Latin-German word-book arranged by subjects instead of alphabetically, was one of the most popular books of its class during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and continued to be reprinted at intervals for some thirty years after its first appearance. Its bibliography, however, has hitherto been obscured by several errors and inaccuracies, which have been passed on unexamined from one catalogue to another, and which it is the object of the present notes to clear up, so far as this can be done by a summary examination.

The *editio princeps* of the 'Vocabularius' is the folio described by Hain as his No. *3700, and was completed 'in vigilia Simonis et Iudae' (27th October), 1483, but contains no mention of the place of printing or the printer's name. The 'Vocabularius' itself, however, constitutes only the first section of the volume, and is followed in order by (a) extracts from the tenth book of Isidore's 'Etymologiae,' with the German equivalents, and an appendix, entitled 'de verbis paruula positio ob tabulae paruitatem'; (b) a collection of notes by Brack on Latin synonyms and constructions; (c) certain 'praecepta in scribendis epistolis seruanda,'

notes on punctuation, a repertory of elegant phrases for use by polite letter-writers, followed by a small number of specimen letters, the whole section concluding with a dedication by Brack to Johannes Lantz, dated 'pridie nonas Septembris,' 1483; (d) the six books of the 'Didascalicon' of Hugh of S. Victor. The printer of the book was stated by Proctor (No. 7565) to be Johann Amerbach at Basel, and it is true that Amerbach's second type is practically indistinguishable in face from the text-type of the Brack. But by 1483 twenty lines of the type as used by Amerbach measured only about 81 mm., whereas in the Brack the measurement is just over 84 mm., and it is therefore more probable that it was the work of Peter Kollicker in the same city, who employed the type in precisely this state for a Cistercian Breviary, published in November of the following year, in partnership with Johann Meister (Hain *3821).

The fact that Kollicker's is really the first edition does not admit of doubt; but the matter has been thrown into confusion by no less an authority than Hain himself, whose customary accuracy has here for once deserted him, and who has actually committed a double blunder in this connection. Hain's No. 3699 (misprinted 3799) specifies the 'Vocabularius rerum' printed by Johann Keller at Augsburg in 1478 as the first dated edition of Brack's work. This would not in itself be absolutely impossible, for the date 1483 in the author's dedication mentioned above applies in strictness only to the Ready Letter Writer, and not to the 'Vocabularius,' which might therefore conceivably, though

far from probably, have been first published separately five years before. As a fact, however, the 'Vocabularius' of 1478 differs altogether from Brack's both in general arrangement and in details, and though Brack, as Diefenbach ('Nouum Glossarium,' p. xxi) suggests, probably knew it and derived suggestions from it, there is no reason at all for supposing him to be its author. From this apocryphal issue of 1478 Hain passes straight on to the year 1483, for which he records two editions, the first (No. *3700) being the true *editio princeps* already described, the second (No. 3701) purporting to have been printed by Peter Drach at Speyer. Hain had not seen this book himself, which is not surprising; but the sources of his entry can easily be traced back through Panzer to Denis and Maittaire. Maittaire's note ('Ann. typ.,' I, p. 450) reads as follows: 'Hugonis de S. Victore Didascalicon cum Vocabularis Wenceslai Branck [sic]. 1483,' and is no doubt intended to describe the Basel edition. Denis ('Supplementum,' p. 179) has the entry 'Vocabularius. Spirae per Petrum Drach. 1483,' without specifying what kind of Vocabularius this might be. Panzer, in taking over Denis's entry into the 'Annales' (III, 22. 22), added a note suggesting a connection with the book described by Maittaire. Finally, Hain assumed as a fact the connection which Panzer had been content to suggest, and thus became the only begetter of an edition which there is not the slightest evidence for supposing to have really existed.¹

¹ Hain's entry is copied just as it stands by F. W. E. Roth into his list of Drach's books ('Gesch. u. Bibliogr. d. Buchdr. zu Speyer,'

The 'Vocabularius rerum' is on rather a different level from the treatises which follow after it in the Basel volume, and, indeed, none of the latter's five parts goes particularly well with any of the rest. Apparently the reading public felt this difficulty, and did not take specially kindly to the miscellany, for some time elapsed before a second edition was put on the market, a folio printed by Grüninger at Strassburg in or about 1486. It supplies what the first edition lacked, a summary title 'Vocabularius rerum. Breuia de modo epistolandi. Didascolon [sic] Hu. de san vi.' In September, 1487, Sorg at Augsburg reprinted the original edition in quarto form, copying some of its typographical peculiarities, but adding a somewhat grandiloquent title, from which we learn that the 'Vocabularius rerum' was also known as 'Archonium'; whether this alternative name goes back to the author does not appear. At some time in the same year, Martin Schott at Strassburg, guided by a sound business instinct, dropped the other tracts and printed the 'Vocabularius' as a small quarto by itself. In this form its popularity was soon assured. At least eight further editions were issued in the remaining years of the century, and it was not until 1512 that the last edition was put forth at Strassburg from the press of Flach.

etc., pt. I, p. 40). No 'Vocabularius' of any kind printed by Drach in 1483 seems to be otherwise on record, so that there may be an error in the date. Graesse ('Trésor,' I, 517) speaks of a third 1483 edition; this is perhaps Grüninger's, the date of the dedication being mistaken for the date of printing.

The following is a list of editions before 1501:—

A. With other tracts.

- 27 Oct., 1483. [Kollicker: Basel.] H.
 *3700. Fol.
 [ca. 1486. Grüninger: Strassb.] H.
 *3697. Fol.
 14 Sept., 1487. [Sorg: Augsb.] H.
 *3703. 4°.

B. Alone.

1487. [M. Schott: Strassb.] H. *3702.
 4°.
 5 Jan., 1489. Prüss: Strassb. H. *3705.
 4°.
 1489. [M. Schott: Strassb.] H. *3704.
 4°.
 [ca. 1490. J. & C. Hist: Speyer.] Nachtr.
 zu Hain. 54. 4°.
 1 Feb., 1491. [Pr. '83 Jordanus: Strassb.]
 H. *3707. 4°.
 16 Aug., 1491. Kachelofen: Leipz. H.
 *3706. 4°.
 22 Dec., 1495. [Pr. '83 Jordanus: Strassb.]
 H. *3708. 4°.
 23 Dec., 1495. Schönsperger: Augsb.
 H. *3709. 4°.
 1496. [C. Hist: Speyer]. H. *3710. 4°.
 Hain 3698 ('s.l. a. et typ. n. f.'), which is said to
 be in a different type from the Grüninger edition
 immediately preceding it, should perhaps be identi-
 fied with an undated issue, printed with Günther
 Zainer's type 2, of the 1478 'Vocabularius'
 (Pellechet-Polain No. 2803).

V. SCHOLDERER.

DID SIR ROGER WILLIAMS WRITE THE MARPRELATE TRACTS?

A REJOINDER.

I HAVE little to say in reply to the courteous and learned criticisms of Dr. McKerrow and Mr. Pierce. I am not at all surprised that one hesitates and the other entirely refuses to entertain the theory of Sir Roger Williams' authorship. It is of real service to the study of the subject to have the difficulties set out in full by two such eminent authorities; the impartial reader has now all the accessible factors of the case before him and can form his own judgment. Most of the objections alleged were familiar to me when writing, and in spite of all that my critics have brought forward, I still feel that Williams is the most likely candidate for the authorship of the earlier tracts; certainly far more so than Job Throckmorton, whose claims have hitherto held the field. At the same time, I am free to admit that the whole matter is as yet too obscure for certainty, and I am more than content with Dr. McKerrow's conclusion 'that the identity of Williams and Martin Marprelate must remain for the present a most interesting suggestion,' and that 'more investigation is needed before the question can be decided one way

or the other.' I must own, however, to a certain disappointment in finding that the question of Sir Roger Williams occupied so much of my critics' attention that they have not found time to deal with what is after all my main contention—viz., that the Marprelate Tracts were the work of three men, two of whom were Penry and Throckmorton. Whether further research confirm or demolish the Williams theory, I am certain that Martin Marprelate, call him Master X if you will, had no hand in writing the last three tracts; that in fact he disappeared after the spring of 1589, and that his accomplices were forced to carry on his work without his assistance. I could wish Dr. McKerrow and Mr. Pierce had given me the benefit of their considered judgment upon this, which is really the structural framework of the whole hypothesis, and in particular upon the detailed arguments from style which were used to support it.

I.

To revert, however, to the controversial ground selected by both writers. Dr. McKerrow's principal objections to the Williams theory are two. In the first place, he considers the references in the last three tracts to Martin Marprelate and the Portuguese expedition at once too obvious and too dangerous to carry much weight. The expedition was on everyone's lips at the time—what more natural than that Martin's 'sons' should prattle on the topic? Again, if their words meant anything, were they not telling the authorities more than

was safe? My answer is that as a matter of fact, so far from being obvious, the references to Martin Marprelate are extremely obscure. At the most there are some dozen sentences scattered here and there over three tracts, tracts which, until Mr. Pierce gave us them in one volume, had probably never been read continuously and comparatively by anybody. So obscure, indeed, are these hints, that though we have a considerable number of documents extant showing the evidence collected by the authorities against the Martinists, not one of them contains any reference to the passages in question. Either, therefore, the bishops did not notice them, or they thought them, as Dr. McKerrow seems to do, nothing but idle jests. Perhaps I may add also that though I had been studying the Marprelate Tracts for many years, it was not until Mr. Pierce's edition of 1911 enabled me to go over them carefully at my leisure, noting down any sentence or passage that might contain a possible clue to Martin's identity, and then collecting all the scattered passages together, that I discovered any meaning behind them. To an ordinary reader, I am convinced, the vague hints thrown out by Martin Junior and Senior would have suggested nothing—except perhaps exuberance; but to any one possessing the clue—i.e., to those of the Martinist circle, and above all to Martin Marprelate himself—they would have been full of significance. As I said in my first article, these tracts were addressed as much to Martin Marprelate as to the general public. Penry and Throckmorton were perplexed at their 'vather's' disappearance, and

wished to convey their sense of perplexity to him, and to show him, if he were alive, their hopes and fears. I believe Dr. McKerrow will come to see the matter in this light if he reads over the last three tracts again, and notices with what careful carelessness the authors give utterance to isolated passages, which when brought together are so illuminating. This point is of some consequence, because unless the testimony of Martin's 'sons' is admitted, the theory that Martin Marprelate was a soldier who went to Portugal in 1589 falls completely to the ground.

The second objection raised by Dr. McKerrow—i.e., that Sir Roger Williams showed no signs, either in his life or his death, of being a Puritan—is not, I think, so serious as it sounds. It must be remembered that in the sixteenth century the political and moral tendencies of Puritanism were not always or even generally shared by the same people. A man might be, like Philip Stubbes, a precision 'sans reproche,' one who would make a clean sweep of all amenities and amusements, and yet show himself a stout defender of Episcopacy. On the other hand, courtiers like Leicester and Essex, whose lives, to say the least of it, were far from stainless, who hunted, swore, gambled, frequented the theatre, and in fact did everything that was obnoxious in the eyes of the precisians, posed, and posed successfully, as leaders of the Puritan party. Is there really anything impossible in supposing the first three Marprelate Tracts to be the work of one of Essex's followers? I think I have shewn pretty clearly that Martin Marprelate

was no precisian, though Mr. Pierce thinks I have spoilt some of Martin's best jokes in the process. He displays a certain knowledge of the stock arguments in the Puritan portfolio, but the more theological parts of the tracts might easily have been worked up from notes provided by others, though personally I have not sufficient respect for Martin's theological attainments to believe it impossible for any Elizabethan writer of average intelligence to have done what he did. In short it is not necessary to assume that Martin Marprelate was a Puritan in the strict sense at all. He may have been a courtier, a member of the anti-episcopal party, the leaders of which were greedy for church property, and possibly he had himself a personal grudge against the bishops. This does not involve the assumption that he was in any way a hypocrite. Human nature is streaked in strange ways, and I can find no more difficulty in picturing an old soldier and wit, fond of his glass and his stomach, sitting down in a virtuous glow to strike a blow for the true Protestant Church, as he conceived it, and have a fling at the oily bishops he was always running up against at Court, than I can in believing that Thomas Nashe wrote 'Christ's Teares over Jerusalem,' or that Robert Burns, profligate and scape-grace, was an ardent supporter of the 'New Light' theology, and penned the inimitable mar-presbyterian poem entitled 'Holy Willie's Prayer.' In conclusion, I should like to express my gratitude to Dr. McKerrow for his kindly criticism. He is one of those men who never puts pen to paper without adding to our stock of knowledge, and his

discovery of Williams's letters of 1589 and 1590 helps to throw new light upon the movements of the Welsh knight during those years. How characteristic, too, both of Williams and of Martin, is that thrust at Sir Walter Raleigh for belying 'y^e Ark of Noe, w^{ch} was ye best ship y^t ever was'!

II

Mr. Pierce is far less favourably inclined towards the Williams theory than Dr. McKerrow. Indeed, he will not touch it with the end of the proverbial barge pole. In spite of the remarkable chronological coincidences set out in my table, he can see no possible connection between the Portuguese expedition and Martin Marprelate. The 'clues' in the last three tracts are dismissed in a contemptuous paragraph and a confident footnote. They are 'all capable,' we are told, 'of easy and perfectly natural explanation.' The references to the Groyne and to Martin's disappearance are simply replies to 'Mar-Martin,' which had just been published with an account of Martin's death. I admire Mr. Pierce's confidence, but somehow I fail to appreciate his argument. If the enemy exulted over Martin's death, why should Martin's 'sons' go out of their way to provide him with fresh food for exultation? Furthermore, 'Mar-Martin' contains no reference to the death of Martin, unless 'Martin's Epitaph' be taken as such, and Mr. Pierce is obviously thinking of 'Martin's Month's Minde,' a tract which, on his own showing, did not make its appearance until the middle of

November—i.e., some four months after 'Martin Junior' and 'Martin Senior' were written.—(Historical Introduction, p. 319.) Of the passages relating to sea-voyages and weather-beaten papers, Mr. Pierce writes, 'This banter was suggested to Penry by the Welsh Catholic tract mentioned by him in his "Exhortation."' This is another of Mr. Pierce's large assumptions. How does he know that Penry was not telling the truth? I prefer to believe that he was, especially as the passage *hangs together* with others, and all seem to point in one direction—i.e., towards Portugal. The sentence Mr. Pierce cites from the Welsh book is certainly interesting as showing that in the vessels of that period it was apparently very difficult to keep papers and books dry. In passing, I may notice that Mr. Pierce, in the words just quoted, tacitly admits my contention that Penry wrote 'Martin Junior.'

In dealing with the Portuguese expedition, Mr. Pierce is at pains to prove that I have created a mysterious melodrama out of a set of very obvious circumstances, totally unconnected with Martin Marprelate and his mates. To answer him fully I should have, in effect, to go over the ground covered in my previous articles. I shall, therefore, leave the 'indifferent reader' to judge between Mr. Pierce's account and mine, and confine myself to dealing with one or two points where he challenges me on a matter of fact or entirely misunderstands my meaning.

(1) p. 352. 'The hour of his [Essex's] departure was not determined by Sir Roger Williams,

who was not of his company on his swift ride to Plymouth.' I do not know Mr. Pierce's source of information, because, as usual, he fails to give any reference; but if he turns to W. B. Devereux, 'Lives of the Earls of Essex,' vol. i, p. 196, he will find it stated that Essex left London in company with his brother Walter, Sir Roger Williams, and Sir Edward Wingfield.

(2) p. 352. 'On 3rd April, when Essex left London for the West, Waldegrave was loitering in the Midlands in no apparent hurry to depart, but with some vague purpose of going to Devon to print Cartwright's reply to the Rhemists. . . . Moreover, there was the heavy printing gear to be taken to Plymouth. A cart with this load, starting from Coventry soon after 3rd April, would not reach Plymouth on 18th April, when the fleet left for the Peninsula.' This is, I fear, characteristic of Mr. Pierce's methods of argument. The whole paragraph is a string of *petitiones principii*. Expressions like 'loitering,' 'vague purpose,' 'in no apparent hurry,' which lend so specious a colouring to the various statements, have nothing to support them except Mr. Pierce's powerful imagination, in the blaze of which what he calls my 'lively fancy' shines like a rushlight before the noonday sun. As for the dogmatic assertion that Waldegrave was still at Wolston on 3rd April, I am willing to concede the point, which is in no way detrimental to my theory. When Sharpe met Waldegrave in Easter week (i.e., after 30th March), the latter was already preparing to go into Devonshire. In other words, as I read it, he had

received instructions to meet Martin Marprelate at Plymouth. But it was not until 2nd or 3rd April that the discovery was made which, I believe, precipitated the flight of Essex and Williams from London, and it is conceivable that an express message arrived at Wolston on 4th or 5th April to hasten Waldegrave's departure. In any case, he would have ample time to reach Falmouth before the 'Swiftsure' left on 18th April. The picture of the printer dragging 'the heavy printing gear' at his heels along the foul Devonshire lanes is evolved out of Mr. Pierce's inner consciousness. Waldegrave had two presses while he was Marprelate printer. His successor Hodgkins had also two, which were presumably the same. Waldegrave printed three tracts at Rochelle. In not one of those was a single Marprelate fount used. There is, in short, not a tittle of evidence to show that Waldegrave carried anything heavier to Devonshire with him than a bundle of clothes and the MS. of Penry's 'Appellation.'

(3) p. 354. 'I do not think Essex had any sympathy whatever with Marprelacy.' All the evidence we possess tells against Mr. Pierce's opinion in this matter.

(4) p. 355. 'The object which Mr. Wilson assigns to the movements of Essex and Williams . . . is one which Waldegrave states definitely he will not undertake.' I presume Mr. Pierce is referring to Waldegrave's remark to Sharpe at Easter that he would print no more Marprelate tracts. But Waldegrave's object in going to Rochelle was personal safety, and not the fur-

therance of the Marprelate cause. Not that I believe Waldegrave incapable of going back on his words. He printed 'M. Some laid open,' which out-Martined Martin in comic abuse of church dignitaries, and I am firmly persuaded that he also had a hand in 'The Protestation.'

(5) p. 355. 'But could Williams in any case have gone to Rochelle in the "Swiftsure"?' We are face to face with his positive assertion that he did not.' This positive assertion proves, on examination, to be nothing more serious than a mistaken deduction by Mr. Pierce himself from a passage in Williams's 'Discourse of Warre.' Criticising Drake for attacking Corunna, Williams blames him for not sailing 'streight to Lisburne as the Earl of Essex did.' This does not mean, as Mr. Pierce takes it, that the 'Swiftsure' sailed *direct* from Falmouth to Lisbon. As a matter of fact, on Mr. Pierce's own showing, it sailed as far south as Cadiz, captured some Spanish craft, and put in at Vigo before reaching Lisbon. What Williams means is that Drake, like Essex, ought to have followed the Queen's instructions, and made Lisbon his first *point of attack*. In the same paragraph Mr. Pierce declares that the 'Swiftsure' could not possibly have had time to stop at Rochelle on the way and deposit Waldegrave. It took Drake just five days (18th to 23rd April) to sail from Plymouth to Corunna with his whole fleet in the teeth of an adverse wind. Does Mr. Pierce really think it impossible for the 'Swiftsure' between 18th April and 13th May (i.e., a period five times as long) to have sailed to Rochelle, from there to Cadiz, and

back again to Lisbon? I named the date 13th May, because that is the one Mr. Pierce, relying upon another authority, insists upon as the real time at which Essex and Williams joined the fleet. But from 'A true Coppie of a Discourse,' written by an officer who himself took part in the expedition, it seemed to me that 20th May was the more likely date. However, I must admit that the writer expresses himself a little obscurely on the point. In any case, the matter is not one of serious importance. Twenty-five days would allow the 'Swiftsure' plenty of time to do all that my theory requires of her, though it would not permit probably of 'the week or so's stay' at Rochelle which I tentatively suggested.

(6) p. 357. 'The facts of the case clearly compel us to give up Rochelle. And all this time Williams is kicking his heels about, filling up what Mr. Wilson calls an "idle time" by constructing his "Theses," writing his long, learned, and most important tract, "More Worke for the Cooper," in odd moments penning his "Actions in the Low Countries," also that scientific trifle of seventy-five pages, "A Briefe Discourse of Warre."' Surely this is a very triumph of unconscious misrepresentation! All I said was that during the ten days in which the 'Swiftsure' lay at Falmouth, and perhaps for a short time at Rochelle, Williams *possibly* put the *finishing touches* to 'More Worke,' and almost certainly began to draw up the 'theses' which afterwards appeared in 'Martin Junior' ('THE LIBRARY,' July, 1912, p. 258). The bulk of 'More Worke' was written, as I was careful to

point out, before 'Hay any worke' was finished printing. The 'Actions in the Low Countries' had taken Williams more than two years to write, as is also stated in my essay. 'A Briefe Discourse' was not printed until 1590, and was presumably written after the Portuguese expedition to which it refers. In short, Mr. Pierce is seeking to discredit the Williams hypothesis by the simple method of stringing together a number of absurdities which I never said and never dreamt of saying, and poking fun at them. Mr. Pierce is kindness and courtesy itself, but I sometimes wonder if he took the trouble to read through the articles he so confidently criticises. All I ask him is to concede the possibility of Williams having time, in the ten days' idleness at Falmouth, to pen the 'theses.' As a matter of fact, Mr. Pierce himself could have compiled them in three days with ease, and written the fragmentary preface into the bargain.

Such are the chief objections which Mr. Pierce advances against my interpretation of Williams's part in the Portuguese expedition. There are other matters upon which I would fain 'deal roundly with him,' as Martin puts it, but my rejoinder is already overlong. On the question of Williams's Puritanism I must refer him to what I have said in answer to Dr. McKerrow, only adding that I cannot subscribe to his interpretation of the passage concerning card-playing. One of the charms of Martin to me is his eminent sanity, and one of the most enjoyable things about his writings is his habit of hitting his own party over the knuckles with the cudgel he has just brought

down upon a bishop's pate. Finally, as to the question of Williams's style I am fortunate in having two critics to deal with at once. Dr. McKerrow's opinion is that 'in some ways the strongest evidence for Williams and Martin being identical seems to me the remarkable similarity which Mr. Wilson shows to exist in the style of their writings'; while Mr. Pierce reads one of Williams's military treatises, and 'lays down the book with the full conviction that whoever wrote the Marprelate tracts, it was not the man who wrote "A Discourse of Warre."' I think we may leave it at that.

JOHN DOVER WILSON.

THE GENERAL CATALOGUE OF INCUNABULA.

IN answer to a request for help received last autumn from the Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, the Council of the Bibliographical Society invited the Commission to send over one of its workers to explain to the members of the Society the history and scope of the proposed General Catalogue, and in what way the Society as a whole, and also its individual members, could give their aid. A paper on the subject was read before the Society, on the 16th December, Dr. Ernst Crous, who came over specially for the purpose and will return, shortly after Easter, to take notes on undescribed incunabula in English and Scottish libraries. A summary of this paper will be forwarded to anyone asking for it.

At the close of Dr. Crous's paper a report was read showing that as regards foreign incunabula imported into England, either for purposes of study when they were new, or during the last two centuries as typographical monuments or curiosities, lists of those at the British Museum, Bodleian, John Rylands Library, Lambeth, the chief Edinburgh libraries, and practically all the College libraries at Cambridge, are in print, and information is available as to the Cambridge University

Library, and some of the Oxford College libraries. As regards the incunabula in Cathedral libraries and the libraries of a few parishes and ancient schools, little is at present known. In response to enquiries in the Society's 'News-Sheet' some fifteen members had sent in notes, some giving the numbers of those in their own possession, and one or two supplying actual lists. Two members had supplied information as to all the libraries, public and private, in their neighbourhood, and it was earnestly to be hoped that others would follow this good example.

Since the December meeting of the Society other replies have been received from members of the Society, and in order to draw information from a wider circle, the following letter has been sent to some half-dozen newspapers, appearing in the 'Literary Supplement' of the 'Times' on 16th January:—

'Sir,—Under the auspices of the Prussian Minister of Education a commission of distinguished German scholars has been at work for some years collecting materials for a general catalogue of books printed in the fifteenth century, which will be published with the aid of a Government grant. The libraries of Germany have been searched for fifteenth century books with very remarkable results, and similar inquiries have been set on foot in Austria, Switzerland, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Spain. One of the Commission's workers is about to visit England to take notes of as many as possible of the fifteenth century books in this country which have not already been described. The Commission also desires to form

some estimate of the number of libraries in the British Isles possessing these books and the quantities in each. To facilitate these researches the Bibliographical Society has undertaken to receive, and as far as possible to tabulate, any information on this subject which may be sent to it.'

'I beg, therefore, on behalf of the Society, to be allowed to appeal in your columns to all owners, public or private, of books printed in the fifteenth century, to send me a note of the number of such books which they possess, and of the titles of any which they believe to be undescribed. If it so desired the information given will be treated as confidential.'

At the time of writing, between fifty and sixty replies have been received to this letter, some of them from owners of only one or two incunabula, others giving information as to larger collections. The aid of all readers of the 'LIBRARY' residing in the United Kingdom is earnestly asked in the prosecution of this enquiry. All that is wanted in the first instance is an estimate of the total number of incunabula in the collection as to which information is being given, and an indication as to whether there is reason to believe that any of these have not hitherto been described by Hain or his successors, and are also not available for reference at the British Museum or the Bodleian. Where a collection contains no undescribed books the owner will not be farther troubled. If it does contain undescribed books an effort will be made to secure descriptions with every consideration for the owner's convenience. But,


whether there are any undescribed books or no, the estimate or statement of the total number of incunabula will always be welcome. So little trouble is involved in responding to this invitation that it is very much hoped that readers who are interested in incunabula, not satisfied with merely giving information about their own possessions, will become missionaries for the movement and stir up other owners, public and private, to reply also. Anyone with a first-hand knowledge of the early books in the old libraries belonging to cathedrals, grammar schools, churches or vicarages, can give especial valuable help. Specimens of libraries of all these classes have been described in recent numbers of this magazine, and it is evident that most of them contain at least a few books of interest and value. The enquiry is not merely one of curiosity. The output of the press during the last third of the fifteenth century represents, in addition to the new books of that period, the great mass of mediæval learning which still possessed, or was thought to possess, some touch of vitality. It is possible to come very near to a complete survey of the whole of this double literature, both in its totality and as it was being produced in this or that country, and this or that centre of printing. The General Catalogue of Incunabula when it is finished will be a document of unique value for the history of culture and thought, and everyone who cares for these should do his best to make it as complete as possible.

Information should be addressed to the undersigned at 40 Murray Road, Wimbledon, S.W.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

REVIEW.

An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palæography.
 By Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, G.C.B., etc.,
 sometime Director and Principal Librarian of the
 British Museum. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press.
 1912. pp. xvi, 600. With 250 facsimiles.

E must offer our sincere congratulations to the author of this admirable work on the substantial proof it affords of his continued possession of that untiring energy which formed the keynote of his long and distinguished official career. As regards the letterpress, it is based, naturally, on his well-known 'Handbook of Greek and Latin Palæography,' which has enjoyed full recognition ever since its first publication in 1893 as an indispensable textbook of the subject; and it might, without any gross inaccuracy, be described as a revised edition of that work. But the illustration has been enriched and improved to a degree which amply warrants the increase in size and price, and explains the change in title, and also (through the need for a paper with a glazed surface) the great increase in weight. Instead of mere cuts inserted in the text, showing only a few lines of writing, and representing these as standing out against the

white page with a sharp definition for which the student may vainly sigh when he begins to exercise his eyes on actual manuscripts, we have now a splendid series of no less than 250 half-tone facsimiles, mostly of complete pages from manuscripts, illustrating the development of Greek writing from the fourth century B.C. to A.D. 1479, of Latin from before A.D. 79 to A.D. 1466, of the English vernacular book-hand from before A.D. 1125 to A.D. 1447, and of the official and legal scripts used in England from A.D. 812 to A.D. 1673. We cannot help feeling a touch of regret that Sir Edward did not reserve the third of these classes, as well as a great part of the fourth, for more exhaustive treatment in a separate work devoted exclusively to English palæography. Such a work is much needed, and no one is better qualified than he to accomplish it; and this departure from the original plan of the 'Handbook' would have provided space for ampler discussion and illustration of the multifarious types of hand found in manuscripts of the later middle ages, especially from the year 1200 onwards. The undue compression of this section is, indeed, the only serious blemish in the book, unless we may add a complaint that the precise dimensions of the originals have not, as a rule, been given in the descriptions of the (mostly reduced) facsimiles.

The 'Handbook' is so widely known that a detailed account of the contents of this 'Introduction' would be superfluous. The plan of the two works is identical, except for the improved illustrations, which are accompanied by highly

instructive discussions of their respective characteristics; and the actual wording is for the most part the same, save where recent discoveries have necessitated some modification, whether in the way of excision or addition. So there is no need to do more than call attention to one or two of the most striking of these modifications, which prove (as might have been expected) that Sir Edward has made good use of his exceptional opportunities for keeping abreast of modern research in all that pertains to the subject of which he has long been an acknowledged master.

De Rouge's 'ingenious theory' of the descent of the Phœnician alphabet (the undoubted ancestor of the Greek alphabet, and, through Greek, of the Latin) from the ancient Egyptian hieratic writing, adopted in the 'Handbook,' is now abandoned as untenable; so that much of the opening chapter has been re-written. The chief alterations, however, are due to the great stores of Greek papyri which have been found in Egypt, notably by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, during the last twenty years. A succinct account of these discoveries is given in Chapter VIII, and their great and important contributions to palæographical science are brought again and again to the reader's notice. For instance, the Hawara Homer, tentatively assigned in the 'Handbook' to the fifth or sixth century, is now considered, from its likeness to one of the Oxyrhynchus papyri, to be as early as the second century; and this change in expert opinion has been followed by another of wider import: the Ambrosian Iliad, famous for its

miniatures, has been advanced from the fifth to the third century. It is not easy to catch Sir Edward napping. Mr. G. F. Hill's researches as to the early use of Arabic numerals in Europe, advancing the date of their first appearance from the twelfth to the tenth century, have not escaped him; nor have Dr. E. A. Loew's minute studies of the peculiar contractions and ligatures of Beneventan and Visigothic manuscripts. He seems, however, to have overlooked J. A. Bruun's remarkable contribution to the study of Celtic illumination; at all events, he still assigns the Book of Kells to the end of the seventh century, and makes no reference to Bruun's attempt (successful, in our opinion) to make out a case for a later date. This is the only important omission we have noted, and the book is in every way one which helps to maintain the credit of English scholarship. The index and bibliography are very complete, and the latter is well arranged for practical utility.

J. A. H.